

FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group
Incorporating Hands Off Ireland!

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While Israeli troops shoot down Palestinians in cold blood and bomb Palestinian refugee camps in South Lebanon, the Palestinian people are fighting back.

PALESTINE IN REVOLT!

On 21 April Israeli planes launched a murderous bombing attack deep inside Lebanon hitting Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese towns killing over 20 people. Meanwhile, the so-called 'civilised' nation as it withdrew from the Sinai systematically razed all the houses, trees and gardens that Israeli settlers built during the occupation. An Israeli official, speaking in the language of Zionist 'civilisation' learnt from British imperialism said:

'In 1967 when we captured the area, we found only sand dunes. Sand dunes are what the Egyptians will find...'

Following the 25 April withdrawal, Israeli Prime Minister Begin declared that no Zionist settlements on the West Bank or Gaza would ever be dismantled. This declaration that Israel clearly intended to annex the West Bank and Gaza was followed by massive protests and street fighting by Palestinians throughout the occupied territories. Over 20 Palestinians have been shot and

wounded by Israeli soldiers attempting to suppress the demonstrations.

These demonstrations followed the fierce fighting against the Israeli occupying forces on Easter Sunday and during the following days. Palestinian anger was sparked off by an Israeli soldier, Elliot Goodman, who on Easter Day entered the Jerusalem Rock of the Dome, a holy place for Muslims and Jews, and indiscriminately opened fire on local Palestinians killing two people. Fighting between Palestinian youth and Israeli authorities spread to the Gaza Strip, where at least five Palestinians, including a pregnant woman and a 7 year old child, were shot dead by Israeli soldiers.

In the occupied territories mass demonstrations, strikes, boycotts and street fighting are the order of the day. And the Zionist authorities have moved swiftly to try and stem and crush this tide. Aside from shooting unarmed youth, the authorities have warned striking council workers in Nablus, El Bireh and Ramallah to return to work or face 6 months imprisonment. Striking shopkeepers have been forced to open up their shops at gun point while whole towns and refugee camps have been sealed off from the outside world and hundreds of unemployed Palestinians have been given 6 month jail sentences or £450 fines for 'rioting'.

Zionist colonialism

The youth of the West Bank and Gaza dare death itself, when unarmed they challenge the entire Zionist establishment. They are fighting against the imperialist backed systematic and ruthless Zionist expropriation of Palestinian industry and agriculture and the complete integration of these areas into Israeli capitalism. But the Palestinian people will not allow the West Bank and Gaza Strip to become impoverished and underdeveloped reservoirs of cheap labour and a market for Israeli commodities.

Zionist exploitation

With a Palestinian population of 1.3 million the West Bank and Gaza Strip under Israeli occupation are rapidly becoming an apartheid bantustan-like appendage to 'Israel' proper. Since

FALKLAND CRISIS: OPPOSE IMPERIALIST WAR

As we go to press the largest British imperialist naval fleet assembled for 25 years has started a war to retake the Malvinas/Falkland Islands. On 2 April, the fascist Argentinian junta, headed by General Galtieri, took over the islands in a patent manoeuvre to divert the growing class opposition to its rule. As a result, British imperialism is once again on the warpath to maintain one of the last outposts of British colonialism. It is using all the scientific techniques and weapons of modern warfare to destroy the Argentinian airforce and navy. In this murderous assault British imperialism now has the full backing of US imperialism.

The Thatcher government is justifying its military aggression by claims of British sovereignty over the Malvinas/Falkland Islands. The truth is that these islands were snatched from Argentina in 1833 when British imperialism settled them with sheep and a handful of Brit-

ish colonials. British imperialism has no just claims to sovereignty over the Malvinas/Falklands and its attempt to retake the islands, is no more than a move to defend British imperialist interests in the region. They are also a warning that any challenge to British imperialism will be met with the full might of British arms.

The government is trying to give its imperialist designs a democratic veneer. The Prime Minister had the nerve to claim that:

'We have a long and proud history of recognising the right of others to determine their own destiny. Indeed, in that respect we have an experience unrivalled by any other nation.'

This is a disgusting lie from a ruling class which had the biggest colonial empire the world has ever seen. British imperialism has viciously subjugated and denied the right of self-determination to the peoples of India, Malaya, Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana, Palestine, Jamaica, Burma, Ireland and many, many other

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HUNGER STRIKE



On 5 May 1981 Bobby Sands, IRA volunteer and hero of the Irish revolution, died on hunger strike: murdered by British imperialism. From 5 May to 20 August 1981 ten IRA/INLA volunteers were murdered for demanding political status:

Bobby Sands 5 May
Raymond McCreesh 21 May
Joe McDonnell 8 July
Kevin Lynch 1 August
Thomas McElwee 8 August

Francis Hughes 12 May
Patsy O'Hara 21 May
Martin Hurson 13 July
Kieran Doherty 2 August
Mickey Devine 20 August

The British imperialist murder of ten imprisoned freedom fighters exposed to the entire world the naked reaction of British imperialism and the depths to which it will sink to crush opposition to its rule in Ireland. Despite all the savage efforts of British imperialism, despite its reneging on agreements with the H-Block men and Armagh women, the Irish people continue to resist both inside and outside the prisons.

Victory to the Irish People! Death to British Imperialism!

The Revolutionary Communist Group and Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! salutes the glorious memory of the ten murdered Irish freedom fighters. We know that the unconquerable resistance of the oppressed Irish people, inspired by the example of heroes such as Bobby Sands and his comrades, will sweep away British rule in Ireland and establish a life of freedom and democracy for the Irish people.

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OPPOSE IMPERIALIST WAR

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nations. It has ruled these nations by the brutest force and suppressed uprisings for national self-determination with bullets and blood. Never once did it grant the right to self-determination, until the people took it, arms in hand. Still today, British imperialism engages in direct military occupation of Ireland to deny them the right of self-determination, using all the savagery and violence it has learnt oppressing other nations. It colludes with the racist Zionist state's oppression of the Palestinian people who are fighting for the right to determine their own destiny. It is the staunchest supporter of the apartheid regime which denies the right of self-determination to the black people of Namibia and South Africa. And through its banks and companies it sucks the wealth of these nations, reducing their people to poverty. Britain's experience is indeed unrivalled by any other nation - an experience of brutality and oppression.

In Parliament, Mr Pym the British Foreign Secretary had the gall to declare:

'Britain does not appease dictators.'

Since the Argentinian takeover of the Malvinas/Falklands, British imperialists have suddenly discovered that Argentina is ruled by a vicious fascist dictatorship. Yet as long as the junta cooperated with British imperialism Mr Pym and his cronies had no complaints! They cared nothing for the brutal suppression of all democratic rights, for the daily torture and repression practised against millions of Argentinian workers. Both Labour and Tory governments have readily assisted the junta. They have sold it arms, including Argentina's one aircraft carrier, 70 Sea-cat missiles, Shorland armoured cars, Canberra bombers and much radio and electronic equipment. British capitalists investing in Argentina with the full backing of British governments include ICI, Dunlop, GEC, Unilever, Shell, Pilkingtons and many others, while British banks have lent some \$5bn. If this is not appeasement, what is?

The British government's claim to be defending democracy and self-determination in the Malvinas/Falklands is nothing but rank imperialist hypocrisy. The truth is that British imperialism will pretend to support self-determination

and democracy only when such pretence serves its own imperialist interests. Britain relies on fascist dictatorships and oppressive regimes to protect its investments not only in Argentina, but also in South Africa, El Salvador, the Middle East and elsewhere. It has never opposed the vicious South African raids into Angola and Mozambique and neither has it raised any protest at the Zionist annexation of Arab lands.

Labour imperialists rally round Union Jack

The Falklands crisis of British imperialism has united every parasitic element in society dependent on the robbery and plunder of British imperialism. Fascists, Jingoists, Liberals, SDP, the Labour Party and TUC have all rallied round the flag to the delighted applause of imperialist scribblers in Fleet Street.

That the Labour Party has lately manufactured a few differences between its stance and that of the Tory government should fool no-one. The Labour Party holds essentially the same warmongering imperialist position, they are just more shame-faced about it. When British troops invaded South Georgia, the Labour Party applauded it. When British jets bombed the airstrip on Malvinas/Falklands, the Labour Party applauded it. Now that a war has broken out the Labour Party shares complete responsibility with the Tory government for provoking that war.

Michael Foot, a CND figurehead who told the last Labour Conference 'I am an inveterate peace-monger', called for the use of force to protect the Falklanders:

'They have been betrayed. The responsibility for the betrayal rests with the Government. The Government must now prove by deeds - they will never be able to do it by words - that they are not responsible for the betrayal.'

John Silkin, who ignored the fascist murder of 13 black people in his own constituency last year, loudly condemned what 'the present bargain basement Mussolini' (referring to General Galtieri, not Margaret Thatcher) might do to white Falkland Islanders 8,000 miles away. He complained that British imperialism was militarily too weak to defend its colonies:

'We do not believe that the conventional forces and in particular the naval and air strength of our country are at the strength that they ought to be. There are other people who are also listening. There are other and

From: Steve Bundred
Vice-Chair, Police Committee
Member of the Greater London Council
for Islington North

**DAILY
Mirror**

Dear Tony Sheridan,

I support unconditionally the demand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, and you can use my name anyway you like.

Yours sincerely,

Paul Foot
Paul Foot

Petition enclosed, signed & requested.

I will get the other petition copy filled up & forward it later.

Yours, Peter Tatchell

The text of the petition is:
We the undersigned recognising the right of the Irish people to self-determination call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops.

nearer colonies that may suffer unless we take the necessary steps now.'

While the government spoke of the need to respect the wishes of the people in the Malvinas/Falkland, one Labour MP, Peter Hardy, thoughtfully pointed out that this might not be to the advantage of British imperialism:

'given the minerals and oil which might be available, it would be highly undesirable to allow 1,800 people in the Falkland Islands to decide by referendum that territory in South Georgia or the South Sandwich Islands could be lightly taken away.'

Foot explained that opposition by the Labour Party might have undermined any international support for British imperialism:

'If at the time the task force was dispatched, or subsequently, there was to be strong opposition in this country represented by the Labour Party, to the dispatch of that force, my fear is that one of the consequences would have been to injure at least the worldwide support that we have seen.'

Just as predictably, British trade union leaders have joined the pro-imperialist chorus. Moss Evans of the TGWU said:

'We believe they should get off the Falkland Islands, and if we can't do anything other than use force, then force will have to be used. I am not by any stretch of the imagination a pacifist.'

David Basnett, leader of the GMWU, said that the trade union movement supported Michael Foot. Racist Terry Duffy of the AUEW said Britain did not have enough non-nuclear weapons. He went on to support the use of British imperialist power against Argentina:

'None of us wish to see bloodshed, but I have always believed that if we wish to retain democracy we should never succumb to bullying, and in particular to a dictatorship who wish to destroy free trade unionism.'

Once again the labour aristocracy has shown itself to be an enthusiastic

Thank you for your letter of 23rd February, together with the petition calling for Irish self-determination and the immediate withdrawal of British troops. I passed this around a recent meeting of the GLC Labour Group and although not all Members were present at the time, you will see that 23 Members have signed it. I hope this will prove useful to the Committee and to the Cause of self-determination for the whole of Ireland.

Yours fraternally,

NORTH LONDON PETITION

The North London Irish Solidarity Committee petition now has over 2,000 signatures and is really beginning to show that there is a wide level of support for the struggle of the Irish people against British imperialism. Support for the petition is coming from a wide range of organisations: 60 members of Hornsey Labour Party have signed and have taken further petitions; South Westminster CPGB branch members have taken petitions and many members have signed. Bernie Grant, Haringey Labour Councillor, has also signed.

Certain prominent political figures are still refusing to support the demands of the petition: Tony Benn has stated that he does not support the immediate withdrawal of troops; Gordon McLennan (CPGB) refused to sign; Bruce Kent (CND) claimed that he personally agreed but could not sign as it would be used by the media against CND (and no doubt alienate liberal support for CND); Jack Dromey (South Eastern Region TUC) refused to sign. It is clear that the views of ordinary workers are far in advance of their so-called 'leaders'.

Mark Peters

Recently the South London Irish Solidarity Committee has launched the same petition. They already have over 500 signatures including Peter Tatchell (non-endorsed prospective Labour Party parliamentary candidate for Bermondsey), Ted Knight (Labour Leader of Lambeth Council) and Paul Foot, Daily Mirror columnist.

Our aim is 10,000 signatures. We have 2,500. Join us now! Write to NLISC and get petition forms now! NLISC Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX.

Mark Peters

guardian of British imperialism. Millions are unemployed, the racist police are tooling up for a massive assault on the black and white youth, the British army terrorise the Irish people. Yet the Labour Party goes to war not against the Thatcher government and the capitalist system but in support of British imperialism.

US imperialism takes sides

British politicians and the media repeatedly called for support from US imperialism. Haig, the US Secretary of State, tried to resolve the dispute without it coming to serious hostilities. Argentina is a major part of the US empire in South America; Britain is its staunchest ally in Europe. US imperialism was frightened to take sides because it risked either toppling the Thatcher government and weakening NATO; or the collapse of the Galtieri junta, and possibly the beginning of a proletarian

revolution in Argentina, with dramatic consequences throughout the whole of Latin America. The crisis has not only affected British imperialism, but threatens the web of alliances spun by US imperialism in Latin America and Europe. Now that the USA has taken the side of its imperialist ally we can be sure it has used the period of Haig's shuttle diplomacy to find a suitable and more malleable replacement for Galtieri, should this prove necessary.

The RCG totally condemns this war to take over the Malvinas/Falklands. No British imperialist war can ever have any democratic aims. War by British imperialism is always waged to protect British profits and the British ruling class. The British working class has nothing to gain in this latest example of British imperialist aggression, and must completely oppose it.

Death to British imperialism

ACT NOW! JOIN THE FIGHTBACK

Police rampage through Notting Hill.

Sir Kenneth Newman is appointed Chief of the Metropolitan Police. The British state kills again in Ireland - 11 year old Stephen McCoomy.

A wave of sickening nationalist sentiment is unleashed as British imperialism goes to war to protect its outposts in the South Atlantic. 4 million languish on the dole.

The message is clear enough. Resistance to the British state must be built if such barbarity is to be ended. FRFI is building that resistance. It is your paper, it needs your support. Sell it with us on the streets. Raise the funds FRFI urgently needs.

Join us in our anti-imperialist work
Act Now! Join the Fightback!

What can you do? Look at the suggestions below. Think about which of them you can undertake and let us know by sending in the form below.

I want to build FRFI

I am willing to (please tick):

- ☐ Take _____ copies of each issue to sell
- ☐ Make a monthly pledge to FRFI's fund drive.
- ☐ I will pledge _____ per month
- ☐ Become an FRFI supporter - I enclose £5 and want to receive a year's subscription and details of the work you do in my area.
- ☐ Organise street sales in my area
- ☐ Organise supporter meetings for FRFI in my area.

Further please send me details of how I can join the work of FRFI

Name _____
Address _____

Return this form to FRFI BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX

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SOUTH AFRICA

PRETORIA 3 Must Not Hang

3 members of the ANC, Petrus Lubisi, Ncimbithi Mashigo and Naphtali Manana had their appeals against their death sentences rejected by the South African Appeal Court in Bloemfontein on 7 April. They were charged in connection with courageous attacks on the Soekmekaar police station and the Volkskas bank in Silverton in January 1980.

It is not too late, however, to demand their release. President Rene of the Sey-

chelles has written to the South African Prime Minister PW Botha urging clemency for these 3 freedom fighters. He has written from a position of strength since 4 South Africans face a possible death sentence in Seychelles courts for taking part in the South African attempt to overthrow the Seychelles government on 26 November 1981.

On 8 April 100 people picketed the South African Embassy in London demanding an end to these death sentences. It was organised by South Africa - The Imprisoned Society (SATIS) and supported by Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! Readers and supporters should also join in this protest and can begin by

- writing immediately to the Foreign Secretary, Downing St London SW1
- supporting the call for prisoner of war status for captured freedom fighters
- contacting us about further work

SAVE THE PRETORIA



Petrus Lubisi



Ncimbithi Mashigo



Naphtali Manana

RABIE'S LAW

Law in South Africa is simply organised violence for the suppression of the black people of South Africa and in particular the black workers. It is used for the benefit of the capitalists and imperialists who exploit the South African people. Those who fight apartheid are detained, banned and murdered. Far from relaxing this 'legal' suppression the South African state is preparing to make it many times worse.

At the inquest of Dr Neil Aggett who was murdered on 5 February whilst in detention, the main witness Mr Morris Smithers was banned by the police outside the courtroom on 13 April. This means that he is unable to say publicly what happened to Neil Aggett. It is clear from the surgeon's report that Neil Aggett was severely beaten and he himself made a statement before his death stating that he had been given electric shocks.

Nearly 200 people are still detained without trial. Some detainees have been released only to be banned, which prevents them from meeting with others and organising. Four leading trade unionists including Dumile Makonda, Chairman of the Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union, who were released in February were served with 2 year banning orders at the end of March. On 18 March Pravin Gordhan, executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, became the seventh detainee this year who has been transferred to a psychiatric hospital ward and is allowed no visitors.

The South African racist state only admits a fraction of the truth, and then covers it with lies. It admits that 48 prisoners have died in detention during the last 20 years. But this figure does not, for example, include the death of 52 year old black woman Elizabeth Mpe. On 18 June 1981 she died whilst being interrogated. At the inquest on 1 April 1982 the policeman responsible stated 'While I was interrogating the deceased she stood up from her chair and fell on the ground onto her face. I went to call

another police officer and on checking, we found that she was dead'.

When Steve Biko was murdered in 1977 the racists stated that he had 'hit the back of his head against a wall'. The ensuing international protests forced South Africa to establish the Rabie Commission on security legislation. It recommended that trials which are 'prejudicial to state interests and international relations' should be held in camera (ie that the people be excluded from the trials of their leaders). Furthermore it recommended that those who demonstrate within 500 metres of a court should be liable to 1 year's imprisonment. Membership of a hostile organisation: maximum sentence 20 years. Subversion, where no violence is involved: 20 years (where violence is involved: 25 years). Promoting the aims of communism: 10 years. Intimidation: 10 years.

An 'Intimidation Bill' has been prepared and will almost certainly be law in South Africa soon. One of South Africa's newspapers, the Daily News, commented: 'If all its recommendations are adopted, the security net which has covered South Africa since the 1960s will be replaced by a reinforced steel security dome'. This is the comment of a legal bourgeois newspaper. It shows that far from relaxing the apartheid system, South Africa is bringing in laws to make apartheid far more repressive. It will not crush the struggle of the people of South Africa, but it makes it more urgent for us to support the struggle of the ANC to smash apartheid.

Chris Fraser



APARTHEID GENOCIDE

'Half of all two and three-year-olds in the Ciskei are malnourished... Thirty-three percent of the adult population of the Hewu district (of the Ciskei) suffered from pellagra while fifty percent of the children were victims of marasmus... Nearly 30 percent of children in the Tsolo district in Transkei die from malnutrition before the age of two... Seventy percent of the adult population of Vendlan have venereal disease... Forty percent of (infant) deaths in the area served by a Bophuthatswana hospital were due to outright malnutrition... At Baragwanath (in Soweto) 7 out of 10 cases admitted to the paediatric department suffer from malnutrition... In one hospital in KwaZulu 75 percent of children admitted, of whom 10 percent later die, have malnutrition as the primary diagnosis... Nearly half of 92,379 children admitted to Natal's major black hospital between 1960 and 1975 were seriously malnourished... over a quarter of the malnourished children died... A recent survey of hospital clinics in the Bloemfontein area revealed that, of the 2,000 children examined every month, 25 percent of them are suffering from malnutrition, kwashiorkor or marasmus'.

All these facts have been obtained from South African newspapers and medical sources.

Bloemfontein; Natal; KwaZulu; Soweto; Bophuthatswana; Vendlan; Transkei; Ciskei - the twin scourges of starvation and disease are sweeping the length and breadth of South Africa.

The root cause is the apartheid system. The system is designed to provide a continuous supply of cheap black labour for 'white' South Africa's mines, farms and factories - for only this can guarantee the flow of profits into the coffers of South Africa's capitalists and British and US imperialism. The bantustans, the migrant labour system, the townships with their barrack-like hostels, the pass laws and the influx control laws, starvation wages and high (almost 30 percent) unemployment, all these, reinforced by batteries of security laws and a massive apparatus of repression, are to ensure that black labour remains plentiful and cheap. Yet all these are the determinants of ill-health in South Africa - they force black South Africans to live and work in the very conditions in which disease flourishes. The combination of poverty, overcrowding, poor sanitation and malnutrition make the bantustans, townships and resettlement camps breeding grounds for infectious diseases. In 1980 there were 45,737 new cases of tuberculosis, all but 564 were amongst blacks (this is only the recorded figure, the true figure is 3 to 5 times the official figure).

White South Africans enjoy one of the highest standards of health in the world - they have a low Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) (12 per 1,000) and long life-expectancy. The apartheid regime does not bother collecting figures for Africans but surveys show that in urban areas the IMR for Africans is at least 6 times the white rate and in the bantustans it is over 20 times. In the Transkei the IMR is 240/1,000 and in the Grahamstown area it is a staggering

378/1,000. These are the death camps they call 'homelands' into which hundreds of thousands of people are being dumped so that capital's profit margin remains high. Pretoria, London and Washington are engaged in near-genocide.

It is no coincidence that the vast majority of South Africans suffer starvation and disease on such a massive scale and at the same time are deprived of economic and political power. Political domination and economic exploitation go hand in hand with disease and suffering. The destruction of apartheid is therefore a necessary condition for the achievement of a high level of health for all South Africans.

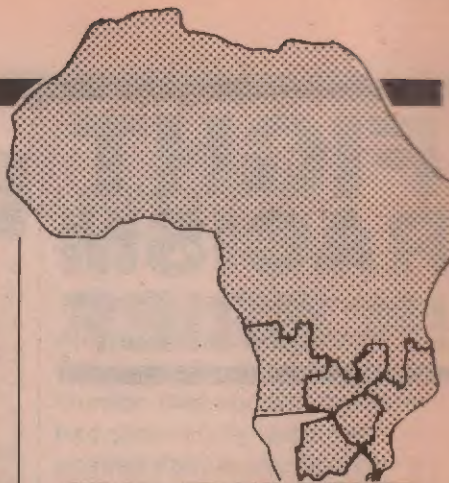
The people of South Africa, led by the African National Congress, are daily showing their determination to liberate themselves from white domination and imperialist exploitation. Every blow struck by the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, against the fascist apartheid state is a step towards the eradication of malnutrition in South Africa.

The increasing militancy of the people - workers, peasants, women, youth - across the country and their growing unity in action in the national liberation struggle bring nearer the day of freedom and the establishment of a non-racial democratic health service.

We in Britain live in the heartland of imperialism, the same imperialism that supports the racist regime economically, politically, militarily, in every sphere. We have a duty to end that support.

**ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA!
SANCTIONS NOW!
DEATH TO APARTHEID!
VICTORY TO ANC!**

Jonathan Fluxman



IN BRIEF

● Umkhonto strikes again

Umkhonto we Sizwe bombed and destroyed a large section of the Commissioner's Court building in Langa near Cape-town on 20 March. The roof was blown off and the offices extensively damaged, including the personal records of thousands of South African blacks. These records are used by the apartheid regime against black people.

The attack was particularly important for the anniversary which it marked. On 21 March 1960 thousands demonstrated peacefully in Langa and in Sharpeville against South Africa's racist pass laws. 69 were murdered in Sharpeville and 2 people in Langa by the South African police - hundreds were injured. Now the racists face the oppressed people armed under the leadership of the ANC.

● Barclays Shadow Report 1982

(Available from ELTSA, 467 Caledonian Road, London N7. Price 75p + postage).

This report shows how Barclays makes profit through the exploitation of the black people in South Africa. It shows how Barclays is steadily increasing its investment in South Africa so that by the beginning of 1982 the bank's South African assets had increased in one year by 26% to reach £6,038m. It shows how Barclays directly supports the racist South African regime (including the South African armed forces) to protect its interests there. It provides the information with which to fight consistently for disinvestment from South Africa and for support for the forces of liberation.

● Release Oscar Mpetha

Black trade union leader Oscar Mpetha, aged 72, has now been held in prison for 20 months. Now his sight has faded so that he cannot recognise his family. He is confined to a wheelchair because of a vascular disease he got in prison. He has had to have a toe amputated since it had turned septic, and his serious diabetes has led to a prostate gland operation. He is also suffering from hypertension and a neurological disorder. In short his treatment is totally inhuman. Should Oscar Mpetha die, he will be another black leader murdered by apartheid.

● Mandela is moved

Nelson Mandela and three other ANC leaders - Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba and Andrew Mlangeni - have been moved from Robben Island to a new prison on the South African mainland in Pollsmoor.

● SWAPO fighting back

South Africa continues to occupy 19,000 square miles of Angola together with the whole of Namibia. In the past month South African forces have continued to carry out raids into Angola. This includes deep reconnaissance flights into Angola and bombing raids 130 miles north of the Angola/Namibia border. For this South Africa needs the support of the imperialist powers: thus their spokesman in Angola Savimbi stated on 6 April that he had had positive talks with the western contact group (Britain, USA, West Germany, Canada and France). South Africa is also massively increasing the size of its army: conscription is to last longer and now includes all white men aged between 17 and 60.

In response SWAPO has intensified its armed resistance. On 16 April they attacked and destroyed a South African troop vehicle with RPG 7 rockets, killing 6 soldiers and on 18 April a SWAPO mine destroyed another troop carrier. These latest operations carried out in the heart of 'white' farmland, testify to the fact that despite repeated and savage invasions of Angola and repression in Namibia, SWAPO is growing stronger.

FIGHT RACISM IN BRIEF

● Black Unemployment in Brixton and Liverpool 8

Unemployment amongst young black people in Liverpool 8 is now officially estimated as 60% and in Brixton, a staggering 79%. These figures starkly expose the bankruptcy of a system which offers youth — black youth in particular — nothing but poverty, unemployment and police harassment. And what is the response of the Labour Movement leadership to these figures? David Basnett, leader of the General and Municipal Workers Union made a proposal about the problem. Did he propose a massive campaign against unemployment? No. A massive campaign against racism that black youth suffer? No. He proposed making 'efforts to convince white trade union members that jobs should be shared out fairly between them and blacks and Asians'. Coming from Basnett this is a sick joke. It is Basnett and the rest of the Labour Movement leadership who have constantly refused to fight unemployment and racism. And only now, fearful of the revolutionary anger of black youth, notice the consequences of their servility to British imperialism.

MW

● Compensation for London family

On Friday 23 April, in the High Court, Justice Mars-Jones awarded a black couple Mr and Mrs White damages of £51,392. Mr and Mrs White and their son Denis were viciously assaulted in a police raid on 16 September 1976.

Scotland Yard has announced an investigation. Readers familiar with Scotland Yard 'investigations' will not expect anything to come of this. None of the 17 police involved in the attack has been suspended. One, WPC Denise Appleton, was, in fact, promoted to Sergeant after the attack!

The press and various opportunists have seized on the outcome of this case to claim that black people can get 'justice' from the imperialist courts. They forget the countless number of black families attacked and assaulted by police thugs and never compensated. Compared to the sea of injustice against black people this judgement is but one tiny drop of justice.

JM

● Labour — Fine Words, Foul Deeds

In their efforts to win black peoples' votes the Labour Party has been making efforts to promote itself as 'anti-racist'. Thus Roy Hattersley, Shadow Home Secretary, recently said that under a Labour Government any policeman found guilty of racialism would face 'instant dismissal'. Such promises are recognised as hollow and insulting by those who remember the record of the last Labour Government which included:

- 1976 the use of thousands of police to break the Grunwick picket line.
- 1976 the racist rampage by police at the Notting Hill Carnival.
- 1979 the massive police operation against the black people of Southall which left 1000 injured, 1 man dead and 800 under arrest.

And what about in 1982? We have heard no word from Hattersley condemning the appointment of Sir Kenneth Newman as Chief Constable for London. On the contrary Labour welcomed the appointment of this torturer. It is Labour's promises of becoming an anti-racist party that merit 'instant dismissal'.

● Screws transferred

Melvyn Jackson, Eric Smith and Howard Price, the three Winson Green screws acquitted of murdering Barry Prosser are to have no disciplinary action taken against them but are merely to be transferred to other prisons. There is to be no further action over the murder of Barry Prosser, no further 'investigation'. Only action to protect the screws.

JM

LIVERPOOL 8 the struggle erupts again

The struggle between the youth of Liverpool 8 and the police has resumed in earnest. Once again the right of the police to patrol Liverpool 8 has been challenged. Once again an incident of police thuggery has led the youth to fight back to defend Liverpool 8 against the police.

On Friday 23 April the police raided a house by Granby Street on the pretext of looking for stolen property. Although the youth they wanted was not at home they turned the house upside down in a vain search for the property. When the youth came home he contacted members of the Liverpool 8 Defence Committee, two of whom accompanied him to Admiral Street police station to make a complaint. The response of the police was to attack the youth — pushing him through a window — and to rough up the members of the Defence Committee and throw them out of the police station. The youth was held overnight and charged with criminal damage and robbery.

There was a swift response from the youth of Liverpool 8 that evening. They gathered in balaclava-hooded groups on Granby Street, and for several hours patrolled the area to ensure that no police got in. A squad car was sent packing under a hail of stones, and two policemen chased. The next day no foot-patrol dared enter Granby Street until 4pm in the afternoon, when two policemen ventured down it. Halfway along one of the policemen had a milkcrate smashed in his face. The two fled, but not fast enough to avoid losing their helmets and radios to the local youth. Later that night further fighting took place on Upper Parliament Street, and once again armoured jeeps and vans

were out in force. On Sunday calm reigned as no police were seen in Granby, until early evening when another two on foot patrol were put to flight. On Monday the youth again stoned police vehicles in the area.

The response of Chief Constable Oxford was to send in the riot squad on Monday. Meanwhile Fred Jones, chairman of the Merseyside Police Federation was making the absurd and racist claim that left-wing groups were 'manipulating' black youths into rioting. Like all racists he cannot comprehend that black youth and their white working class allies need no prompting to act to defend their community from racist police thuggery. Nor can the youth be 'manipulated' by Oxford's talk of 'community policing'. The reality of policing in Liverpool 8 is house raids, abuse and beatings. The people of Liverpool 8 have watched as young people are framed by the police and given harsh sentences by the courts.

The struggle, never far below the surface, has emerged once again. The issue is: who controls the streets — community or police? That weekend the police could not get into Granby Street except by armoured vans, jeeps and patrol cars. The police have once again been completely exposed for the oppressive force they are.

Robert Clough

Kenneth Anderson

The trial of Kenneth Anderson has begun. The police, determined to frame him, have 30 police 'witnesses' to tell the lies with which they hope to convict Kenneth who faces five charges including throwing a petrol bomb. Kenneth was shot in the groin by a CS gas cartridge on 6 July last year. As a result of this, he had to have an emergency operation to replace part of an artery. The severity of his injuries and his determination to claim compensation for them have led the police to even greater effort than usual to frame him, and thus place their victim behind bars.

The lies of the police are blatant. All of the first five policemen to testify have said that Kenneth was wearing camouflaged army trousers and a navy blue T-shirt. Yet it was the police who took him to hospital and when he arrived he was wearing a red pullover and blue jeans; blue denim material was found in his wound!

Although the police claim Kenneth was under arrest when he was taken to hospital, none of them made any statements about it until 17 July. They claimed to recognise him then as a ring-leader because his photograph had appeared in the *Daily Post*. Yet all of them denied knowing he was claiming compensation for his injuries although this was the substance of the report that accompanied the photos.

No official report was made of the fact that Kenneth had been shot — Ser-

geant Woods, one of the policemen with a CS shotgun that night, said that pressure of other work had made him 'forget' to make any such report.

This then is the story that is to be repeated 30 times by police witnesses in an effort to fit up Kenneth. FRFI says: Kenneth Anderson is innocent and demands that the charges be dropped.

Phil Robbins

The vindictiveness of the Liverpool police has managed to secure a conviction for Phil Robbins. Framed on two charges of burglary, he is now serving 18 months concurrently on each count. The reason for the frame up? Phil was shot twice by police with CS gas cartridges, once in the chest and once in the back, on 6 July last year, and had put in a claim for compensation.

The police knew they could not frame him for a charge arising from the riots — when he was shot, he was in the company of respected members of the community. Instead, they used the fact that he had previous convictions for burglary. So they arrested him in October last year and charged him with a burglary that had taken place at the beginning of June. When he went to court in January 1982 he was seized by the police and bundled away. After being remanded in Risley, he was charged with a further burglary.

The police case was an obvious concoction of lies. 'Evidence' implicating Phil in the June burglary was just one perfect thumbprint. But that perfect thumbprint was not passed to forensic

until 9 days after he had been shot, over a month after the burglary! The forensic scientist who brought his folder to the dock, testified that he did not know Phil at all and did not know that he had been injured. But the defence counsel, noticing that he was taking sheets from his folder, asked him what else he had inside. And what he had were photos of Phil, of his injuries, and of the cartridges which had hit him. Asked why he had denied knowing about Phil, the 'expert' denied all knowledge of the photographs, denied knowing how they could have come into his folder, or who could have put them there.

The police made no attempt to bring his supposed accomplices to testify in court, although they had convicted one person in each of the burglaries. They did not attempt to disprove his alibi for the second burglary although numerous witnesses testified that he had been with them all night in a pub. The conviction for the second burglary rested entirely on the identification evidence of three policemen. One of them, Detective Sergeant Wolfenden has harassed Phil since he was a young lad and given him much racial abuse.

This was framed for the sole reason that he was shot. If the police can get away with this, it will become the stock response when they brutally maim or kill someone in the future. They tried and failed with Paul Conroy. They are now attempting to portray David Moore as a criminal rioter and a drunk. These are depths to which they will sink in order to defend their position. Fight

Racism! says: Phil Robbins is innocent. Free Phil Robbins Now!

David Moore

The trial of the police murderers of David Moore has turned into a trial of David Moore himself. This obscene spectacle is taking place in an obscure town in North Wales. For as expected, the trial has been shifted well away from Liverpool to stop any demonstration of hatred of the police. The main focus of the trial has not been PC Kennan or Sergeant Wilkinson, who face charges of manslaughter. It has been David Moore himself. The police have found people to say that David Moore was a ring-leader of the rioting the previous night and that he had thrown a petrol bomb immediately before he was knocked down. His previous criminal record was immediately made public, and it is now claimed that he had been drinking heavily on the night he was killed. So the picture being built up is of a drunken rioter, a habitual criminal — someone whose death is no loss to anyone. The most revolting part is that it is a dead man who is being slandered, a dead man whose blood the police want to wash their hands of.

No doubt every effort will be made to get the police acquitted even of manslaughter. One form of justice exists for police murderers, another form of justice for their victims. That is the justice of the British ruling class.

Robert Clough



BRADFORD 12 WHITE JURY FIX

On 26 April the trial of the Bradford 12 opened at Leeds Crown Court. The 12 members and supporters of the United Black Youth League are facing charges of 'making explosive substances with intent to endanger life' and 'conspiracy to make explosive substances'. The trial is expected to last for several weeks.

Just before the trial opened, the 12 received news that there would be an all-white jury. The first list of jury summonses sent out was not only restricted to the Leeds area but contained only 6 black people most of whom were unable to attend the court. Proof of this jury rigging was that very few of the potential jurors were chosen from the black working class area of Leeds 6, 7 and 8. Judge Beaumont refused to allow the selection of a new jury panel which would include Asians from Bradford. He said that even if he had the power to do so he 'would not exercise it in favour of the defendants'. He did allow a further 50 jurors to be summonsed but this new list too included very few black people.

As the trial opened a 500 strong picket in support of the 12 was held outside the court. Their chanting against the police conspiracy threatened to drown the pro-

ceedings at times. FRFI supporters from London, the Midlands and the North West joined the picket and the demonstration through Leeds City Centre. In the afternoon the police pounced and arrested someone from the picket. When some of the demonstrators began to move over to the cells to demand his release, the police moved in and arrested a further five people. They were later charged with threatening behaviour and obstruction. Those arrested and the democratic right to picket the court must be defended.

The Bradford 12 are up against a police conspiracy, rigged jury and the threat of life sentences. FRFI sends them its full support and demands

Drop the charges!

Stop the racist trial!

Free the Bradford 12!

Bill Hughes

POLICE WAGE WAR IN NOTTING HILL

On 20 April the police launched a violent assault on the black community of Notting Hill. Mounting anger at police harassment had culminated in the local youth rescuing two people being questioned by the police. As more police moved in stones flew, police windscreens were shattered and barricades erected. The brutal and savage police response left over 60 people injured and over 30 arrested. Shops and restaurants were smashed as police beat and pursued people into them and there beat them again. In the Mangrove and the Tuck-In Takeaway people lying on the floor in blood and broken glass were batoned viciously. Frank Critchlow of the Mangrove said:

'My clear experience from last night is that the police have declared war against black people.'

The police using their own lie-language called this 'minimal force'. They used a specially trained 'Immediate Response Unit' in this assault. More than 100 police (local people say many more) clad in numberless black overalls and dark-visored helmets rampaged through the streets with shields and truncheons. They were a military force unleashed against men, women and children on the streets of Notting Hill. In the last issue of FRFI we predicted that the police and press campaign about so-called 'black

jectiles are now in police stores in England and Wales. Two former military water cannon are being tested by police forces. Last month saw the appointment of Sir Kenneth Newman as Chief Constable of London. Former head of the RUC in the Six Counties of Ireland Newman is experienced in police use of terror and torture against a population that dares resist oppression. The British state now wants that experience for use in Britain against growing resistance being led by black youth.



crime figures' was a prelude to the intensification of racist police repression. Notting Hill confirms this prediction.

Let there be no illusions. The police concerned in the events at Notting Hill were not acting alone. These tactics have been prepared and sanctioned at the highest levels of the Government. Whitelaw said:

'I believe the operation conducted by the police in Notting Hill was an example of what is needed.'

Whitelaw and the Government are clear. After last summer's Uprisings they recognised that 'what is needed' is a police force trained and equipped to savagely crush the growing resistance being produced by mounting unemployment, poverty and racial oppression. Uprisings of the youth last summer led to the police temporarily losing control of and access to some working class districts. This the ruling class will not tolerate. At the first sign of barricades in Notting Hill the newly created riot police were used. All 24 London police districts now have 'Immediate Response Units' like that used in Notting Hill. 3000 plastic bullets and 1000 CS gas pro-

But what happened, the liberals might ask, to Lord Scarman and community policing? The answer is clear now – even to the *Sunday Times*:

'...officers will still walk the beat and attempt to foster and develop good community relations, but at the first whiff of trouble they will have radio access to tough colleagues trained and equipped to contain and quell disorder.'

Community policing was only ever a ploy, 'bobbies on the beat' busy picking up information and spying while a vanload of riot police wait round the corner.

Whilst murmurs of discontent were heard from Labour benches at Whitelaw's praise for the police in Notting Hill, there has been no major protest from the Labour Movement thus again confirming its utter bankruptcy. As FRFI has said before – the only way forward lies in organising defence campaigns and massive campaigns of protest about racist police harassment and brutality.

Maxine Williams

Notting Hill Family Harassed

Also on 20 April police raided the home of two black families in Ashmore Road. The Harriots were raided by 8 policemen headed by Inspector Forbes. They barged in without a warrant and confiscated (without giving receipts) a tape recorder, amplifiers and some kitchen knives. 14 year old Maxine was told by Inspector Forbes (as he trod on her foot) 'I suppose you're going to call us racists now – always racing around black

peoples houses.' Then they took her brother Mark away.

The Philips family got the same treatment as two of their sons were arrested. Danny who is having psychiatric treatment was beaten, as they all were, into making statements. Mark was subjected to an identity parade (held in a local amusement arcade) where he was picked out. The man who picked him out had been given a chance to take a good look at Mark only one hour earlier at the police station!

Ace Kelly

NEWTON ROSE CAMPAIGN CONTINUES

Despite winning his appeal against his conviction for the murder of Tony Donnelly, Newton Rose is still not free. He remains out on bail whilst the House of Lords decides to hear the police appeal against his acquittal on 14 June. If successful the police will again be prosecuting Newton Rose for the murder they framed him for, their only evidence the lies they concocted for his original trial.

The three youths sentenced at his trial to six months for withdrawing the statement they made to the police, as a direct result of threats and intimidation, will not be prosecuted again. The police obviously feel that this would only too blatantly expose their frame up.

The Newton Rose Action Committee is organising a programme of events in a campaign to have the police appeal quashed and Newton's acquittal upheld.

Newton Rose Is Innocent! Stop the Police Frame Up!

**Newton Rose Action Committee
c/o 76 Stroud Green Road
London N4 (272 4889)**

Tony James

In the next issue we will be carrying an article on a school strike. Do other readers have experience of the fight-back in schools, racism in education? If so, write and let us know.

POLICE THREATEN TULSE HILL FAMILY

Tony Macey, a 13 year old white youth who lives on the Tulse Hill Estate in South London, is one of a growing number of local youth, black and white, being harassed by the Brixton police.

On 3 April the police arrested Tony after hearing a car alarm go off. In the police van PC Morris slammed the door on Tony's arm leaving it badly bruised. Then the police in the van turned the lights out and began to hit him slapping him repeatedly on the head with their gloves. Tony finally falsely admitted to offences involving cars.

They held him for three hours and questioned him without the presence of a parent or guardian. They also, for part of the time, held him in a cell. On 5 April when he went back to the police station, this time with his mother, they were told that there was 'no way' Tony could have received his injuries whilst in the police van. Then in the presence of a senior officer and the police doctor, a WPC told Tony's mother that if she made a complaint she would find herself prosecuted for child neglect and her children taken into care, they threatened.

Nonetheless the family is determined to make a complaint and a prosecution against the police. Tony is to return to the police station on 7 May where he is expected to be charged with 'going equipped to steal'.

Ace Kelly

Savage sentences in Thornton Heath case

The trial of the Thornton Heath 15 ended in the Old Bailey on Thursday 15 April with savage sentences passed out by Justice Farquharson. Ronald Pilgrim got 8 years for manslaughter; Gary Huggins 5 years for riot; David Collins 4 years for riot and affray; Garnet Han-son and Dwight Lewin 2 years each for riot; Paul Brown and Norman Dawkins borstal for riot; Derek Chambers 6 months for riot. These sentences are intended as a warning to black youth fighting back against racist attacks.

The case arose when, provoked beyond endurance by a series of racist attacks, black youths attacked a pub on 1 June 1981 searching for the leader of the racists. In the course of that evening 19 year old white youth Terry May was killed. Despite the fact that the press has ignored countless racist murders of black people the death of Terry May became the cue for a racist outburst. 'Black Fury of Murder Mob' was a typical headline. Whereas racist murders of black people, if reported at all, are given two or three column inches.

By fuelling racist hysteria the press helped the Judge to pass these savage sentences.

The murder of Dr Amal Dharry

There were no such banner headlines about the murder of Dr Amal Dharry. He was stabbed to death last year by a racist skinhead called Paul Carr. Carr subsequently told the police he had done it because he hated Pakistanis. Carr and his friends saw Dr Dharry. Carr immediately followed him and plunged a knife into his chest up to the hilt.

Carr was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to seven years. The jury – with 11 whites on it – decided not to convict him of murder. Yet Carr's defence to the murder charge was both revolting and absurd. He claimed that he had a £15 bet that he would stab a man, had not 'meant' to kill Dr Dharry, and had not 'meant' his statement that he hated Pakistanis.

This verdict ignores the spate of serious racist attacks going on in the Coventry area at the time. It ignores the fact that a knife plunged to the hilt is evidence enough of intent to kill.

The contrast in the treatment of this case with that of Thornton Heath is clear enough. When black people, the victims of attacks from disgusting fascists like Carr, fight back they face total condemnation. They face headlines about 'black mobs', large numbers of arrests and heavy sentences. When white racists go on the rampage, out to maim and kill black people they face one conviction for manslaughter, no headlines about 'white mobs' and a judge who knocks three years off a possible ten year sentence.

TW

LEEDS 3 SUPPORT GROWS

The police are taking the cases of two of the Leeds 3 to a Divisional Court in London. Gordon Teal and Bill Bolloten had successfully appealed against their conviction on charges arising from police harassment as they sold FRFI in Chapeltown. The police, furious at this success, have set out to overturn it at Divisional Court – such is their determination to prevent FRFI being sold in Chapeltown.

More than 2,000 people have signed a petition in support of the Leeds 3. The latest support comes in the form of a letter to the campaign from Tony Benn saying he opposes 'all forms of police harassment of newspaper selling'. To add insult to injury Gordon Teal is being charged £140 for the 'privilege' of having the case dragged to the Divisional Court by the police.

The Leeds 3 campaign took a protest delegation to Sir Keith Joseph's surgery – he is, insultingly enough, the MP for Chapeltown. On seeing the delegation enter his surgery – it included three black youths – Sir Keith asked if it was an 'invasion'. Such is the mentality of a Cabinet Minister. When challenged about the racist Chapeltown police Sir Keith defended the levels of policing in Chapeltown.

The delegation demanded to know how much tax-payers' money is being spent by Chapeltown police in their malicious and politically motivated persecution of the Leeds 3. The Chapeltown police campaign to stop FRFI being sold must be fought. We call on all readers to support the Leeds 3. Messages of support and donations to:

**Leeds 3 Defence Campaign
LAP Box 10**

59 Cookridge St, Leeds 2
Cheques/postal orders should be made payable to the Leeds 3 Defence Campaign.

IN BRIEF

SMASH IMMIGRATION CONTROLS

Recently Timothy Raison, Home Office Minister in charge of immigration told a House of Commons committee that, in his view, immigration controls had improved race relations. He went on to say that he wanted immigration to continue to decline rather than remain steady.

● Reggie Yates Must Stay

Reggie Yates came to England in 1976. In 1979 he was charged with overstaying. He appealed against this charge on the basis that his grandfather was British and he was therefore entitled to British citizenship. The Chairman of the tribunal rejected his appeal on the grounds that his grandfather could not have had a 'valid marriage' to a black woman.

Reggie at present has only 'indefinite temporary admission' and therefore has no way of knowing if today will be his last day with his wife and baby. Contact the Reggie Yates Campaign, c/o MIERU 439 Harrow Road, London W10. Chris Fraser

● Home Office splitting another family

A deportation order has been served on an Asian man from Colne – Mazhar Hussain Shah. Mr Shah came to this country in 1973 on a visitors permit but stayed to live and work. He married Susan in March 1980 and applied to stay permanently. He was arrested and imprisoned with a recommendation that he be deported. The couple have two children.

Despite the fact that the family want to stay together the racist Home Office still maintain that the marriage was one of convenience. John Sanders.



● Corruption?

Everyone knows about the 'massive crime wave' which threatens to destroy civilisation as we know it etc. The Met are sparing no effort to solve it: John Newman, of the Police Federation, says 9,000 extra CID officers are needed; a London Superintendent says the police have 'run out of ideas'. No need for this defeatism we say. Judging by the continuing story of the Barking silver bullion robbery there is a simple solution to the 'crime wave' ... disband the Metropolitan Police.

● Corruption??

The Barking silver bullion robbery netted a tidy £3.4 million and, according to recent allegations, the Met Police didn't do badly out of it. Robbers involved in the enterprise are claiming that police officers helped to plan the robbery, took £120,000 for themselves and divided up the £300,000 reward. Despite the obviously trivial character of these allegations certain anti-police elements are drawing attention to the 'peculiar' position of anti-corruption squad Commander Mike Taylor who is heading the investigation into the case. Mike Taylor was a detective chief superintendent in the Robbery Squad at the time of the Barking raid and worked alongside the officers he is now investigating. Why this should lead anyone to doubt the 'thoroughness' of his investigation I cannot say.

● And more corruption?

The Yard's anti-corruption squad has run into further trouble lately. Key witnesses against the police in the Barking case are refusing to give evidence unless the case is taken off the Yard's CIB2 department. O ye of little faith. The case of Detective Chief Inspector Alan Ratray is being cited as evidence that CIB2 is not to be trusted. Our Alan was given the job of investigating the disappearance of the proceeds of a bank job in Ilford 1972. Alan, anxious to get at the truth, informed one of the robbers involved that the allegation that police had 'acquired' the missing proceeds was 'a load of rubbish' and that it was 'a long time ago'. This fearless investigative approach resulted in a statement from the robber that he had no complaints to make against the police. The case was then 'buried'.

Now interfering busybodies from the press, forgetting which side they are supposed to be on, have released tapes of Alan's conversations with the robber. Poor Alan was foolish enough, in a subsequent conversation with the robber, to declare 'lets face it, you and I know what's gone on ... If there was corruption and officers were paid - and I'm not admitting that they were - and they gave what was expected of them, then nobody ever complained, did they?' Now, I ask you, is this any reason to harass poor Alan? The tapes are now being investigated ... by Scotland Yard! Makes you feel safe doesn't it?

● Firebrand freed

Readers will remember Constable Wilson who, overloaded with paperwork, burned down his police station. He was sentenced to 18 months for overzealousness. But, thanks to British justice he will be released after 4 months. We are glad to see that such initiative is not being stifled.

● Limited awareness

On 20 April the Metropolitan Police launched a new training scheme - 'human awareness training'. Presumably, having spent weeks being intensively trained to recognise a human being, the police trainees are able to pass on to phase two of the course - techniques of beating, brutalising and abusing any humans they become aware of.

■ Thicker than thieves

While the Labour Party in the House of Commons refused to oppose the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) in March, the government appointed Lord Jellicoe to head a study of this racist legislation. Passed in 1974 as a supposedly temporary measure, the PTA has been systematically used to intimidate Irish people in Britain and suppress the development of any opposition to British rule in Ireland among the Irish community in Britain.

The previous government study of the PTA was published in 1978 by Lord Shackleton, a Labour peer and former Labour MP, appointed by the Labour government to reassure any disquieted Labour Party members and, in so doing, to rubber-stamp the use of this repressive instrument. Lord Shackleton was well suited for the job being Deputy Chairman of Rio Tinto Zinc which received a Labour government contract to mine uranium in Namibia and so reinforce the terrorist South African apartheid regime. In 1976 Lord Shackleton led the British Economic Survey of the Falkland Islands and recommended then, as now, that British imperialism should retain the territory, by force if necessary.

The choice of Lord Jellicoe for the latest study of the PTA was true to form. A former SAS officer, Lord Jellicoe is a chairman of Tate and Lyle which uses the apartheid laws to pay its plantation workers poverty wages in order to swell its profits. Like Lord Shackleton, he has absolutely no interest whatsoever in defending democratic rights in South Africa, Ireland, Britain or anywhere else. On the contrary, democratic rights would threaten his bloodstained fortune and privilege.

It is not only their record which qualifies these gentlemen to be entrusted with the task of our guardianship, it is their pedigree! Lord Shackleton's father was the 'explorer' Sir Ernest Shackleton who, in 1908, claimed a large part of Antarctica south of the Falkland Islands on behalf, as he put it, of '400 million British subjects'. Admiral John Jellicoe, father of Lord Jellicoe, was Commander of the British Grand Fleet at the battle of Jutland in 1916. Despite sacrificing twice as many British workers as the German Imperialist navy sacrificed German workers the British ruling class claimed a great victory and Jellicoe was rewarded with the Governorship of New Zealand. Today the risen Irish and South African people are leading the way in breaking the chain of oppression that has, for generations, bound millions of workers in Britain and throughout the world to the wheel of exploitation and death.

Trevor Rayne

■ America: the freedom to be poor

In early February of this year President Reagan announced his Thatcher-type Budget. The USA Budget, like that of the British Government, is based on cuts in health and welfare benefits and a massive reduction in education, housing, child allowance, unemployment benefit and training schemes.

Savings of 55 billion dollars are planned for 1983 and 185 billion dollars more by 1985. All this is done with the words 'Our goal remains prosperity'. In early April of this year the results of this Budget, combined with the general trends of capitalist crisis, appeared in the statistics of human suffering.

28 million people, 1 in 8 (12.5%) of Americans live in poverty. When this figure is broken down we see that while 1 in 11 (9.4%) of the whites live in poverty, 1 in 4 (23.8%) of the 10.9 million Hispanic, Asian and Eskimo people and 1 in 3 (30.2%) of the 26.5 million blacks live in poverty. These are official figures based on a low income of \$7,400 for a family of four. The real figures for poverty are obviously much higher as the 'average' household income in the United States is nearly \$17,000 and in working this out all incomes are included, even those of millionaires.

The United States Labour Department has a special category called 'Discouraged Workers' - those who have been without a job for so long that they have ceased to

look for one. This figure stands at 1½ million and is not counted in unemployment totals. In the first quarter of this year this group of workers rose by 140,000. Nearly 40% of 'Discouraged Workers' are black although they are only 10% of the population.

Real hunger, deprivation and suffering are spelled out further by the American free-enterprise system of health care. Women with children on their own face a particularly vicious choice. A single parent must decide between having a job and getting less money than welfare benefits, plus losing health insurance for herself and her children, or leaving a job and receiving better money and keeping Medicaid benefits.

In such a decadent and morally bankrupt society as capitalist America it is no surprise to learn that real starvation is hitting masses of the people and the only solution being offered is the soup-kitchen charities.

The black population is suffering the worst with 20% unemployment, twice the national average and black youth unemployment at a devastating 46%. The ghettos of the inner cities in America are under the impact of a deep depression and deprivation and decay which is the only experience capitalism has to offer to those it exploits the most.

But this time round the crisis is so deep and rotten that even those who thrived on the economic expansion of the 1960s are reeling from the wave of redundancies and closures that have hit the economy. Skilled workers, like the 2,700 sacked from Texas Instruments Electronics Plants last month will not find work again. In the words of the head of the Los Angeles Salvation Army Family Service, 'People who have been secure for a long time, aren't now'. So much for American 'freedom'!

Susan Davidson

■ Repression in Austria

The Socialist Party of Austria, led by Kreisky, likes to pride itself for creating in Austria a unique island of democracy and prosperity in a world shaken by crises and wars. But at this very moment Kreisky is preparing a grave attack on the working class's freedom to organise by its moves to tighten the Political Parties Act (Parteiengesetz) allegedly aimed at neo-fascist organisations. In reality planned changes to the Act are directed against the working class and their organisations and provides for the prohibition of any organisation which challenges the Austrian capitalist state.

In article 2 of the amendment, there is amongst others the following clause:

'Parties, election parties and other associations, which are not organised as associations and which according to their programme or to the behaviour of their members definitely pursue aims which run counter to ... parliamentary democracy ... or attempt to violently alter the political conditions ... are unconstitutional.'

The purpose of the new bill is evident. In view of the globally intensifying class struggle and in view of the fact that Austria is ceasing to be an 'island' Kreisky and Co are rearming in every aspect - politically, ideologically, militarily and judicially. This new bill, far from being a measure against the insignificant neo-fascist forces, is aimed against revolutionary organisations. Participation in militant demonstrations, pickets or - in short - the behaviour of a single member of an organisation which is deemed to counter public order is sufficient to ban whole organisations.

An organisation which could be immediately affected by the new bill is the International Communist League, who have issued an appeal to all revolutionary organisations to help repel this attack on democratic rights in Austria. FRFI (which has used the material from their appeal in drawing up this note) extends to the Austrian International Communist League and all other working class and communist organisations its solidarity in their struggle against the new laws.

A Greene

■ Solidarity members support apartheid

Since the 13 December imposition of martial law in socialist Poland thousands of Solidarity supporters have deserted the country as the prospect of capitalist restoration vanished into the distance. The particularly reactionary and indeed racist trend in Solidarity (which has been praised to the skies by all imperialists, opportunists and trotskysts) is testified to by the more than 5,000 Solidarity supporters who have applied to go and live in apartheid South Africa. With no conscience and no democratic ideals whatsoever, these emigres (who while in socialist Poland demanded 'democracy' and 'equality' and 'free trade unions') are now happy to look forward to a life of comfort and privilege in white South Africa which is based on the most brutal denial of democracy, equality and free trade unions to the millions of oppressed and exploited black people.

So disgustingly degenerate are these hypocritical 'free trade unionists' that they are now singing the praises of racist apartheid and uttering the most primitive racist trash against South Africa's black masses. A Solidarity member in an interview with the South African *Rand Daily Mail* said:

'We listened to the BBC and Voice of America. We had heard that SA was a beautiful country and that it was a paradise for White people ... We find the Black people very interesting ... they do not understand the way a modern technological society works ... they have been given too much too quickly ... The White people brought them these things but it takes time to understand how to cope with them.'

Taking their lead from the imperialist BBC and Voice of America, these elements, with all the skills and knowledge given them by socialist Poland, are now going to the aid of apartheid. All communists should denounce them in the strongest possible terms and expose their opportunist supporters in this country for what they are - lackeys of imperialism.

Eddie Abrahams

■ West German capitalism in decay

The 'social peace' which was dominant in West Germany during the post-war 'economic miracle' has been severely undermined by the international capitalist crisis. The Federal Republic has more and more assumed the character of a police state, with a tremendous reinforcement of the police and military forces, the torture, sensory deprivation and murder of political prisoners, the persecution of civil employees suspected of left-wing sympathies.

The liberal/social democratic government's answer to the capitalist crisis is the same as that of every other bourgeois government: drive down living standards. Last year unemployment shot up by 54% and is now approaching 2 million. As in other imperialist countries, it is young people and immigrants who are subjected to the most intolerable conditions.

Many youths have expressed their opposition by joining large pacifist demonstrations. In West Berlin the squatter movement has had to defend itself against fierce police repression with more militant action. More and more young people, exasperated by the prospects of a life of misery and despair on the dole are driven to drugs as a means of escape. Each year 10,000 people aged 15-25 try to commit suicide.

In October of last year a number of prisoners in a jail for drug offences in West Berlin began an indefinite hunger strike in an attempt to penetrate the wall of silence surrounding the brutal prison regime. Their demands included: abolition of solitary confinement and other forms of punishment; two-thirds remission; greater freedom for recreation, education and association; abolition of urine control; no installation of video cameras. The internees declared: 'Inside and outside - one struggle.' Some solidarity was built outside and the result was partial victory.

Immigrant workers form about 10% of the labour force in the Federal Republic. West Germany has always operated a contract system of labour: the migrant worker receives a residence permit lasting from 1 to 5 years and he has to leave when it expires. In November 1973 the government announced that no more immigrant workers from outside the EEC would be recruited. Then, in a largely unsuccessful attempt to deter the families of immigrants from moving to the Federal Republic, the government decided that immigrant children who had entered Germany after 30.11.74 had no right to a work permit nor to a professional education. Once they had reached working age they could therefore be legally expelled. In addition, immigrant youths already resident in the Federal Republic, who have been there less than 5 years or who have no job or education place are threatened with repatriation. Between 1973 and 1976 700,000 immigrants were expelled.

The callousness of the bourgeois state towards those for whom it has no profitable use is also revealed by the treatment of refugees fleeing from fascist regimes in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Sri Lanka - regimes which are themselves financed by imperialist countries, including the Federal Republic. Refugees seeking asylum in West Germany are herded into state camps or slum housing. They are denied any opportunity to learn the language. They are allowed practically no visits. They may not leave the towns in which they are held and in the evenings they are confined to the camps. They are allowed no legal work. After subjecting the refugees to such barbaric treatment for usually many years, the state eventually decides, in the vast majority of cases, to turn down their applications and throws them out.

Beneath a thin veneer of 'freedom' and 'democracy' human beings in the West are brutalised, intimidated, persecuted and humiliated. Communists must actively defend all victims of racial oppression and actively support all those fighting imperialism throughout the world.

Dave Porter

■ RCT-Party barbarism

The RCT-Party has launched yet another of their front organisations, this time called 'Women for Communism', which specialises in denouncing any women's struggles which are not run by the RCT (in the RCT's phraseology which are not 'anti-capitalist'). Women for Communism, in response to the discussion on how to deal with the question of rape has called on people to use what the petit-bourgeois RCT regards as 'traditional working class methods'. These 'methods' in the putrid minds of the RCT boil down to mindless violence. Replying to a correspondent in the RCT paper the next step, which criticised the RCT's advocacy of such violence, the RCT unashamedly responded by extolling the maiming of people. They wrote:

'A rapist recently let off by the courts in Glasgow was attacked by a group of workers who cut off one of his ears. In the Six Counties of Ireland the Provisionals deal with anti-social, anti-working class behaviour in the same way. We want to popularise approaches like this ...'

The Republican movement in Ireland, a disciplined and organised revolutionary movement, has been compelled to resort to methods such as knee-capping because they have no other means of enforcing justice in British occupied Ireland. The Republican movement neither glorifies nor 'popularises' such acts. They are a last resort. The RCT-P's glorification of violence, its encouragement of people to cut off criminals' ears is a million miles from the firm but humane methods of socialist justice. Their stand is typical of desperate and degenerate middle class desperadoes who are ready to see such methods applied to the working class but would denounce it as barbarism if applied to themselves or their own class.

Stephen Palmer

IMPERIALIST TERROR AND REPUBLICAN RESISTANCE

Ulsterisation and loyalist terror

The transferring of responsibility for 'security' to the loyalist 'security forces' involved not only an increase of their numbers but also an increase and an improvement in the weaponry supplied to them. Total British army numbers declined from a maximum of 21,000 (lowest level 16,500) in 1973 to 12,000 by 1980. However, in the same period the RUC (90% Protestant) increased from 4,500 to 7,000, the RUC Reserve from 2,500 to 4,500 (1,000 were full-time) and the UDR (97% Protestant) had 8,000 members by 1980 (of whom 2,500 were full-time). The size of the UDR was approximately the same as the part-time paramilitary loyalist force the B-Specials 'disbanded' in 1969 on the recommendation of the Hunt Report (see FRFI 14). However that Report had also recommended that the UDR should number no more than 4,000 and be entirely part-time. Thus by 1980 there were altogether 19,500 members of the loyalist 'security forces' in the North of Ireland, bringing the total together with the British army to 31,500.

Along with the increase in numbers in the RUC and UDR has gone an increase and improvement in their weapons. The UDR is equipped with British army self-loading rifles (SLRs), machine-guns and armoured cars. The RUC not only has pistols but has also been armed with Sterling sub-machine guns, M1 carbines and SLRs. It has been given heavy armoured personnel carriers. So the RUC has not only fully returned to being the paramilitary force which it was before the Hunt Report in 1969 but is now much better armed.

The RUC plays an essential role in the other component of the 'Ulsterisation' strategy. That is, in the attempt to 'criminalise' the struggle against British imperialist rule in Ireland. This 'criminalisation' of the revolutionary national struggle followed on from the recommendations of the Diplock (1972) and Gardiner (1975) Reports. It included the ending of Special Category status for political prisoners, together with the arrest and systematic torture of Republicans directed by the RUC in special interrogation centres, in order to obtain 'confessions' and thereby convictions in non-jury Diplock courts (see FRFI 18). The RUC was increasingly to take over from the British army in attempting to suppress demonstrations in support of political status for Republican POWs. And in many police divisions the UDR – rather than the British army – became the 'back-up' force for the RUC, just as the B-Specials were until 1969. In all this we can see that the return to 'normality' the British Labour government had in mind as part of its 'Ulsterisation' strategy, was the attempt to lay the basis for restoring loyalist rule in the Six Counties without the massive presence of British troops.

Disputes between the Loyalists and the British government in this period – such as the loyalist strike of May 1977 – were simply concerned about the pace at which the strategy of 'Ulsterisation' was being implemented. The Labour government had undertaken a policy of repression directed against the nationalist minority to lay the basis for the restoration of loyalist rule. The Loyalists were constantly demanding greater repression and the immediate restoration of Stormont. However British imperialism was not prepared to have the pace of increased repression determined by the Loyalists. The difference was about means not ends. When the Loyalists felt too little repression was being directed against the Republican areas by the official 'security forces' increased activity by loyalist paramilitary organisations and loyalist bombing and assassination squads – the unofficial 'security forces' – would take place.

The official and unofficial 'security forces' have performed complementary roles in terrorising the

From 1976-1979 the British Labour government embarked on a campaign of systematic terror against the nationalist minority in the Six Counties of Ireland to force them to submit once again to loyalist rule. As preparation for the eventual restoration of loyalist rule the Labour government pursued its strategy of 'Ulsterisation'. It had two essential features. The first was the transferring of responsibility for 'security' from the British army to the RUC and UDR. The second was the attempt to 'criminalise' the revolutionary national struggle to free Ireland from British rule.

nationalist minority in the Six Counties. The link between them was established with the tacit agreement of the British government at the very foundation of the loyalist statelet. Entire units of the murderous UVF as well as other smaller loyalist paramilitary groups were recruited into the newly established Ulster Special Constabulary in 1920 and helped establish the state of 'Northern Ireland' by armed force. In a period of loyalist orchestrated terror between 1920 and 1922 over 300 Catholics were killed many of them by the USC (see FRFI 11). In response to the Civil Rights movement in 1969 the Ulster B Specials joined loyalist mobs in burning out entire streets of Catholic homes, while the RUC attacked nationalist areas with armoured cars and heavy machine guns. Several people were killed and hundreds more were injured (see FRFI 14). Although the B Specials were disbanded in 1969, many simply joined the RUC Reserve and the UDR. About 50% of the UDR was initially recruited from ex-B Specials and it soon became clear that the UDR was simply the B Specials under another name. Since the fall of Stormont in 1972 the hundreds of Catholics murdered by both the unofficial and official 'security forces' are witness to the continuity between the present system of repression and that established at the foundation of the state.

Loyalist paramilitary organisations

The main loyalist paramilitary organisations – the unofficial 'security forces' – are the UVF and UDA. The UVF has roots in the initial stages of the Irish conflict (see FRFI 9 and 11). In the 1960s it re-emerged as a small underground terrorist group centred on the loyalist Shankill Road in Belfast. It had an essentially working class membership and a high proportion of shipyard workers. It was said to consist of supporters of Ian Paisley. The UVF carried out the Malvern Street Pub murders in 1966 and was banned (see FRFI 13). Since that time it has carried out bombings of Catholic premises and been deeply involved in sectarian murders of Catholics. It was legalised briefly in 1974 (with Sinn Féin) and the ban was reimposed in 1975.

The UDA was formed at the end of 1971 out of existing loyalist 'defence' groups. It was heavily armed and staged a series of mass rallies of masked and uniformed men early in 1972. It openly engaged in drilling and other paramilitary operations in May 1972. Its membership comes mainly from the loyalist working class. It has, with the UVF, been mainly responsible for assassination campaigns against Catholic civilians. It was also heavily involved in gangsterism and protection rackets, and various feuds to gain control of the organisation have led to leading members being

killed or injured. The UDA played a crucial role in the UWC strike which brought down the power-sharing Executive (see FRFI 17). It has never been made unlawful in spite of its known involvement in brutal murders of Catholics. A letter in the UDA's newspaper in February 1972 carried a call to suppress the nationalist minority in the following terms

'...hit back in the only way these nationalist bastards understand. That is ruthless, indiscriminate killing... If I had a flame-thrower, I would roast the slimy excreta that pass for human beings...'

In less emotionally disturbed terms a member of the Protestant Action Force (a pseudonym for the UVF) in the September 1976 issue of the UVF journal *Combat* expressed the rationale behind the random sectarian murders of Catholics when he said

'There is only one means of defeating an insurgent people who will not surrender, and that is to subject them to a greater force and degree of terrorism than they are able to give or receive. There is only one way to control an area or ghetto that harbours terrorists or insurgents, and that is to reduce its population to fear by inflicting upon them all the horrors of terrorist warfare. where these means cannot, for whatever reason, be used, the war is lost.'

One does not need to look far for more 'respectable' exponents of such views. In 1971 Brigadier Frank Kitson the British army's 'counter-insurgency' expert, who served in the Six Counties from September 1970 to April 1972, made the threat that he would 'squeeze the Catholic population until they vomit the gunmen out of their system'. Internment, Bloody Sunday, torture and assassinations have all been used by British imperialism in its attempt to terrorise the nationalist minority into submission. However there are political and propaganda limits to the use of such measures by the official 'security forces' as is shown by the numerous attempts by British governments to cover up for them. They must be acceptable to both public opinion in Britain and more significantly to that abroad. However, such methods of terrorising the nationalist minority into giving up its struggle for freedom can be pursued without any such limitations by the unofficial 'security forces' – the UDA, UVF etc.

The loyalist paramilitary organisations and death squads regard themselves in a support capacity to the official 'security forces':

'...There is no essential moral difference between official Government action and un-

official loyalist action in the struggle against terrorism and subversion... the prime objective of the Ulster Volunteer Force is to train, equip and discipline a dedicated force of loyalist volunteers capable of supporting the Civil and Military Authorities in protecting the people of Northern Ireland in the face of armed aggression from foes foreign and domestic...'

They also see themselves as an assurance against any possible decline in the official terror directed against the nationalist minority

'...in the event of political weakness on the part of the Government leading to ineffective security measures, the Ulster Volunteer Force upholds the right to take such effective measures as it may, from time to time, consider necessary for the defeat of terrorism, aggression and insurrection' (*Combat* Vol 1 No 33, 1974).

This it should be remembered only repeats the threat made in 1972 by William Craig, the ex-minister of Home Affairs in the Stormont Parliament, to a Vanguard rally before the fall of Stormont that 'if the politicians fail it will be our job to liquidate the enemy'. A month later in a speech to the Conservative Party's Monday Club in London, Craig said he was prepared to 'shoot to kill' to keep Ulster British and continued

'...when we say force...we mean force. We will only assassinate our enemies as a last desperate resort when we are denied our democratic rights'.

Finally when confronted with the consequences of his speeches – the sectarian murders of Catholics – he said in a BBC radio interview in December 1972 that although he was not happy with what was happening

'if it is impossible to win our democratic rights without this sort of thing happening then I am prepared to tolerate it'.

So were the British government and the official 'security forces'. In practical terms this has meant the brutal killing of hundreds of Catholics in random assassinations.

Assassinations

Apologists for loyalist terror have attempted to explain such assassinations as the last resort of Loyalists provoked beyond endurance by the IRA. Nothing could be further from the truth. The years which have seen the greatest number of sectarian killings have been those years in which a truce has existed between the British army and the IRA or IRA military activity has been low. In 1972 there were 122 sectarian assassinations. During the fourteen days of the 1972 truce which began on 26 June, there were 18 sectarian killings, by 31 July this had risen to 39. The bulk of the assassinations were the result of an organised and concerted campaign carried out by loyalist assassination squads which began in the spring of 1972 and carried on into 1973. The years 1975 (150 killings) and 1976 (175 killings) saw the highest number of sectarian killings and were years in which IRA military activity was low. For most of 1975 a ceasefire existed between the IRA and the British army and discussions between the Provisionals and British government representatives continued until July 1976. The real reason for the assassinations was to terrorise the nationalist minority into submission at a time when the loyalist groups felt that too little repression was being directed by the official 'security forces' against Republican areas. This is the significance of the rise in assassinations during periods of ceasefire or when talks are taking place between the British government and the IRA.

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The active involvement by members of the official 'security forces' in loyalist terror attacks

A black and white photograph showing a group of men in military uniforms, some wearing berets, walking down a street. They appear to be in a crowd or procession, possibly during a military operation or a public demonstration. The image is grainy and has a historical feel.

It is well known that copies of many files on suspected Republican sympathisers have been passed from the RUC, UDR, and British army to loyalist groups. These files contain not only the names, addresses and photographs of such suspected sympathisers but also detailed information about them, such as their place of work and car registra-

There have been very few cases of IRA units retaliating against the gruesome killings carried out by loyalist murder gangs. The IRA is conducting a military campaign against British imperialism not against Protestants. The IRA Army Council has consistently resisted demands to take retaliatory action. However one case is repeatedly brought up and is used to attack the IRA. It occurred in Bessbrook South Armagh on 5 January 1976. Ten Protestant workmen were machine-gunned to death after they had been ordered out of their minibus. This was a retaliatory killing. Five Catholics

Joe O'Connell Speech

The first bombings by the Provisionals took place in London on the day of the Border Poll in the Six Counties on 8 March 1973, with car bombs exploding outside the Old Bailey and Great Scotland Yard (see FRFI 17). They were a forceful reminder to the British people of Republican opposition to the British-imposed border. The next phase of the campaign took place after the elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly in June 1973 and during the period of wheeling and dealing to set up a power-sharing Executive finally achieved in November 1973 (see FRFI 17). Incendiary devices and small bombs were used and placed in shops and prestige targets. On 18 August fire bombs set fire to parts of Harrods. On 20 August shops were destroyed in Hampstead and fire bombs were found in Liberty's Regent Street. Bomb attacks and more fire bombs followed. Two people were

completely outside the context in which they nor consistent with the truth. The true relationship between this country and our people is one of a state of war against the government. The mention has been made in this court of the use of internment without conviction before the European Court of Human Rights for the torture of Irish people; nor colonial rule. The judge has attempted to label shootings to 'terrorist' offences. We have the bombing of Hiroshima and Dresden and the torture carried out by British soldiers in Kenya were acts of terrorism...

of terrorism in order to defend British rule in Ireland. We have struggled to free our people from British rule...

"guilt" for the real crimes and guilt are placed against our people. The war against imperialism, for true peace can only come about through revolution and justice. Whether we are a whole nation is the prisoner of British rule, we choose to ignore this or to swallow the lies and stand out against them.

from the dock 7 February 1977

injured when a letter bomb went off at the Stock Exchange. The campaign ended on 12 September with two quite large bombs in London injuring six people. While the SDLP was negotiating a crooked deal with British imperialism and the 26 Counties government, the IRA was making it clear that this attempt to isolate and destroy it was failing.

The next phase of the campaign opened in January 1974 after the Sunningdale agreement had been signed. There were bombs at Madame Tussauds and at the Earls Court Boat Show on 5 January. Warnings were given and no-one was injured. Next day a 30lb bomb exploded outside the home of British army Adjutant General Sir Cecil Blacker. On 4 February a 50lb bomb exploded on a coach travelling along the M62 which was carrying British army personnel from Manchester to Catterick Camp. Eight soldiers and three others were killed. Judith Ward was framed and sentenced to life imprisonment (30 years) for this bombing. The IRA said that one of their units had carried out the bombing and that Judith Ward was not a member of the IRA. On 26 March Claro-Deverell Barracks, Ripon, was bombed. The targets in this phase of the campaign were prestige tourist areas and military targets. Throughout the summer various explosions took place including one in June which extensively damaged Westminster Hall, Houses of Parliament. It came a fortnight after the murder of Michael Gaughan, an Irish prisoner who had been on hunger strike in Parkhurst prison. On 17 July a satchel bomb went off in the Tower of London killing one woman and injuring many tourists. No organisation claimed responsibility.

The next major explosions occurred in October and November 1974 when pubs used by army personnel in Guildford and Woolwich were bombed. In the Guildford explosion which occurred a few days before the October General Election, five people were killed, four of them army personnel. Paul Hill, Carole Richardson, Patrick Armstrong and Gerry Conlon were framed and sentenced to life, indefinite detention, 35 years and 30 years respectively for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings. Both bombings were later claimed by the Balcombe Street IRA Active Service Unit.

The 1974 bombing campaign in Britain created a rising demand for 'tough measures' against 'terrorism'. On 21 November 1974 the Labour government got its excuse to introduce them. Bombs exploded in two pubs in Birmingham killing 21 people and injuring over 160 others. Immediately after the bombings, the Provisional IRA issued a statement pointing out that it was not IRA policy 'to bomb non-military targets without giving adequate warning to ensure the safety of civilians'. The statement disclaimed responsibility for the bombings. Five men from the Six Counties living in Birmingham were arrested as they boarded the Heysham-Belfast ferry a few hours after the explosions. Another was arrested in Birmingham. They were beaten up by the police, forced to sign 'confessions' and framed for carrying out the Birmingham bombings. A wave of anti-Irish hysteria spread through Britain whipped up by the British press. Roy Jenkins, the Labour Home Secretary, rushed through Parliament the obviously previously prepared anti-Irish Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Bill was presented to Parliament on Wednesday 27 November 1974. It was given an unopposed third reading at 8.46am on Friday 29 November after an all night sitting lasting nearly

17 hours. By 9.25am the Bill had been taken through all stages in the House of Lords and at 9.35am it received the Royal Assent. This draconian Act proscribed the IRA; made membership or support for it an offence; empowered the Home Secretary to expel Irish people from Britain (including people of Irish origin who had lived in Britain for less than 20 years) or to prevent their entry into Britain; gave the police draconian powers to arrest suspects without warrant and to hold them without charges for up to 7 days.

Not a single one of the so-called 'defenders of freedom' on the Labour 'left' voted against the Act. While the British 'left' opposed the PTA it put most of its energy into condemning the Provisional IRA. The *Morning Star* 'condemned terror bombings' which it said 'only play into the hands of the right wing'. It opposed the PTA - 'Jenkins' Law' - on the grounds that such measures have been tried in Northern Ireland and only end up deepening divisions in the community and increasing sympathy of 'extremists' such as the Provisional IRA. *Socialist Worker* carried five pages on the Birmingham bombings mostly given over to attacking the Provisional IRA. It opposed the PTA because it would not stop the bombings here. On the contrary it is the history of repression that 'drives young people to the desperate planting of bombs'. Its headlines on page one sum up its priorities in the order given. 'All socialists must condemn these senseless killings; Stop the bombings; Troops out of Ireland; Fight repression in Britain and Ireland' (*Socialist Worker* 30 Nov 1974). *Workers Press*, *Militant*, *Red Weekly* (IMG), all condemned the bombings claiming that they alienated the British working class and prevented the mobilisation of British workers against British imperialism. *Militant* said the IRA bore a 'moral responsibility' for the Birmingham bombs 'even if not directly implicated'. Finally the IMG felt it necessary to tell the police, in case they had any ideas of using the PTA against them, that 'the IMG has never, and does not now, support the IRA by material, financial or by any other such means... nor do we support them politically' (*Red Weekly* 5 Dec 1974). The bombing campaign in England had soon terrified these middle class 'revolutionaries' into very quickly reconsidering their earlier 'Victory to the IRA' position. Not guilty M'Lord (see FRFI 15).

The PTA had not the slightest effect on the military campaign in Britain - nor was it ever intended to. Its purpose was to provide a legal cover for the systematic harassment of the Irish community in Britain in general and for all, in particular, who were prepared to fight for a United Ireland. After the Bloody Sunday murders of January 1972, the British police broke up what was to prove to be, during the present campaign, the largest demonstration in Britain against British rule in Ireland. The British government was not prepared to tolerate any serious opposition here in Britain to its rule of terror in the Six Counties of Ireland. Given both the cowardice and anti-Republican standpoint of much of the British 'left', the PTA therefore effectively blocked large-scale organised campaigning, particularly by Irish people in Britain, against British rule in Ireland. The threat of deportation, interrogation and surveillance has become part of everyday life for Irish workers in this country. The passing of the PTA indicated to those who could recognise reality that British imperialism was preparing itself for a long war against the Irish people.

Immediately following the passing of the PTA, the campaign in Britain continued in December with bombs going off in Bath, Bristol, Aldershot and in London at Piccadilly, South Kensington, Soho, Tottenham Court Road and Oxford Street. On 22 December a bomb was thrown into the London home of Edward Heath just three hours before the IRA began a unilateral ceasefire during Christmas 1974. The December bombings were not only a reply to the PTA but importantly were connected with the truce negotiations opened at Feakle on 10 December 1974 (see FRFI 18). During the negotiations the British had accused the IRA of being unable to control its Active Service Units in England. The IRA replied by stating that a spate of bombings would take place in Britain ending at midnight 27 January 1975. On 27 January six bombs went off in Manchester and London. There were no more bombs in Britain until the second truce broke down.

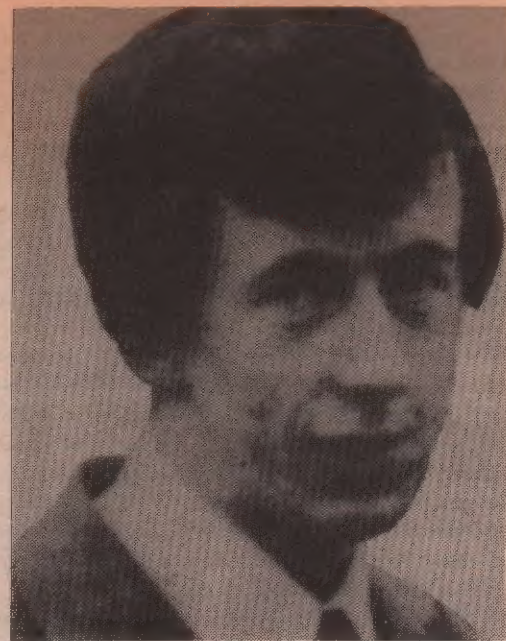
The bombing campaign was restarted in August and September 1975 to remind the British

government of the price it would have to pay if the British refused to withdraw from Ireland and the truce broke down. On 29 August a bomb went off in Kensington Church Street killing a bomb disposal expert. On 2 September, despite a 23 minute warning, a bomb placed in the London Hilton hotel detonated killing two and injuring seven. Other bombs went off in Caterham in Surrey and Oxford Street in London at the end of September. Bombs were placed in restaurants frequented by the rich, under cars and at tube stations. On 27 November 1975 the arch-reactionary Ross McWhirter, who had announced a £100,000 reward for information against the IRA, was executed.

It is clear that every phase of the bombing campaign in Britain was tied to the development of the war against British imperialism in Ireland. The IRA have always been aware that bombs in Britain have a much greater impact than similar bombs in Ireland. The British ruling class cares little or nothing about Irish people or, indeed about its own soldiers dying in Ireland.

Despite the show trials (see below), framings, torture, lengthy sentences, deportations and the PTA, the IRA's ability to conduct military campaigns in Britain has never been undermined. Those campaigns will clearly continue until Britain finally gets out of Ireland. In a historic speech from the dock before the jury retired on 7 February 1977, Joe O'Connell, one of the Balcombe Street four, defended the IRA's position on the bombings in Britain:

'These incidents have been put completely outside the context in which they occurred in a way that is neither just nor consistent with the truth. The true context is that of the relationship between this country and our country - Ireland. That relationship is one of a state of war against the occupation of Ireland by Britain. No mention has been made in this court of the violence suffered by the Irish people: of the use of internment without charge or trial in the Six Counties; of the conviction before the European Court of Human Rights of the British Government for the torture of Irish people; nor of the many brutalities of British colonial rule. The judge has attempted to restrict the reference to bombings



Joe O'Connell

and shootings to 'terrorist' offences. We would like to ask the judge whether the bombing of Hiroshima and Dresden were terrorist offences? Whether the torture carried out by British soldiers in Aden and Cyprus and Hola Camp Kenya were acts of terrorism...

This government carries out acts of terrorism in order to defend British imperialism and continues to do so in Ireland. We have struggled to free our country from British rule...

We admit to no "crimes" and to no "guilt" for the real crimes and guilt are those of British imperialism committed against our people. The war against imperialism is a just war and it will go on, for true peace can only come about when a nation is free from oppression and injustice. Whether we are imprisoned or not is irrelevant for our whole nation is the prisoner of British imperialism. The British people who choose to ignore this or to swallow the lies of the British gutter press are responsible for the actions of their government unless they stand out against them.

As volunteers of the Irish Republican Army we have fought to free our oppressed nation from its bondage to British imperialism of which this court is an integral part.'

Show trials and imprisonment

Contrary to the claims of opportunists, in the last period of the Irish war imperialist repression directed at Irish people in Britain began before a bomb went off in Britain.

In February 1970 Eamonn Smullen and Gerry Doherty were sentenced to eight years and five years (both reduced to five and three years on appeal) at Leeds Crown Court. They were set up by Reginald Gee, a gun dealer in Huddersfield who claimed that Smullen, Doherty and John Meehan, all members of Clann na h'Eireann at the time, had approached him for guns. With the cooperation of the Huddersfield police a conversation between Gee and the three at Gee's gunshop was secretly taped. When the three left the shop they, and a friend called John Brankin, waiting in a car nearby, were arrested by 20 police. Mysteriously the tape ran out before the alleged request for arms was made! Most of the talking on the tape was done by Gee himself. John Meehan and John Brankin were acquitted. Smullen and Doherty went to gaol on the unsupported evidence of the police tout Gee. Gee's later career included having his gun licence taken away in December 1974, being fined £4,000 for smuggling ivory figures into France in June 1976 and being charged with theft of £210,000 of Japanese Art in Manchester in February 1977.

Michael Gaughan, who was murdered in Parkhurst prison on 3 June 1974 after being force-fed on hunger strike was sentenced to seven years at the Old Bailey in December 1971 for a bank robbery which netted only £530 for the Republican Movement. This was two months before the first explosion on the mainland - the Aldershot bombing - took place.

As always imperialist repression preceded revolutionary resistance. The political trials of Irish men and women began with the framing of Smullen and Doherty in 1970 and continued through to the gaoling of Gerry MacLochlainn in April 1981.

However it was the military campaigns in Britain which provided the background for a massive onslaught against Irish people in Britain. Over 100 have been arrested and gaoled. The PTA has been used to harass and terrorise Irish people in Britain. The statistics of arrests make this clear. Up to the end of November 1981 - 7 years after this 'temporary provisions' Act had been passed - 5,251 persons had been arrested under the Act. Of these 4,639, 88 per cent, were neither charged with an offence nor excluded from Britain. Only 85, 1.6 per cent, were charged under the act and of these 69, 1.3 per cent, were found guilty under its provisions. 280 people were charged with offences under other Acts. And 247 people were deported from Britain having their families split up and losing jobs and livelihood. Irish people in their thousands are subject to detention, questioning, isolation and deportation under this racist legislation. Finally conspiracy charges, forced confessions and *agent provocateurs* have been used in show trials to gaoil Irish men and women.

Police agents have been used in many cases. The Luton Three - Phil Sheridan, Sean Campbell and Gerry Mealey, all members of Luton Sinn Fein - were convicted in November 1973 of 'conspiring to rob persons unknown in Bletchley'. They had been set up by a police *agent provocateur* Kenneth Lennon. Lennon's role was concealed in the trial. All three got 10 years. Lennon then went on to set up 18 year old Pat O'Brien in an 'escape plot'. On 8 April 1974 O'Brien was sentenced to three years imprisonment while Lennon was acquitted. On 13 April 1974, 5 days later, Kenneth Lennon was found dead in Chipstead Surrey having been shot in the head. Three days earlier, on 10 April he had gone to the NCCL and confessed that he was a police agent whose task had been to incite Sinn Fein members. The NCCL released Lennon's statement on 16 April.

The Home Office was forced to set up an enquiry. Roy Jenkins the Labour Home Secretary gave the job to the Deputy Commissioner of Scotland Yard, Mr James Starritt. He was well chosen for the cover-up that was necessary. Starritt was of Irish Protestant origin being the son of an RUC constable with two brothers in the RUC. The *Starritt Report* ready on 26 April eight days after it had been commissioned and was leaked to

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the *Daily Express* before he signed it. It said on the basis of the evidence presented 'there are no grounds for a further investigation into the actions of any of the police officers involved'. The report was in fact not published for seven months on the grounds that the Luton Three and Pat O'Brien were appealing against their convictions and sentences. Pat O'Brien was acquitted on 5 June after 5 months in prison on the technical grounds that Lennon's acquittal of the charge removed the only named party to the conspiracy. Who then did O'Brien conspire with? The Court of Appeal found the use of *agents provocateurs* to infiltrate organisations and incite members to 'illegal' activities was justified. The appeal of the Luton Three was therefore turned down by the man who covered up for the Bloody Sunday murders – Lord Widgery. What would you expect? Irish men and women have never found even the pretence of justice in British imperialist courts.

In the trial of the Birmingham Six a key prosecution witness was self-confessed National Front supporter, Thomas Watt, who was harbouring the *agent provocateur* Kenneth Littlejohn at the time the Birmingham explosions took place. Littlejohn had escaped from Mountjoy Prison in March 1974 and was supposedly the subject of a massive police hunt in Ireland and Britain.

In April 1977 John Higgins, the National Organiser of Sinn Féin was convicted of soliciting arms from John Banks and receiving walkie-talkie radios for 'use in connection with terrorism'. The prosecution case rested solely on the word of the notorious John Banks, ex-paratrooper and mercenary recruiter for the CIA-backed FNLA in Angola – a man with contacts in SAS, British military intelligence and Special Branch. John Higgins was given ten years.

One of the earliest of the show trials was that of the Coventry Seven in Birmingham October 1973. Fr Patrick Fell, Frank Stagg, and five others were charged with conspiring to cause explosions. On remand all were held in solitary. The trial was conducted with massive 'security' precautions designed to prejudice the jury. The evidence against the seven included a street map and a Barnes and MacCormack banner. (Barnes and MacCormack were IRA volunteers, framed and hung in 1940 for an explosion in Coventry – see FRFI 12). No explosives were produced nor any trace of explosives found. Frank Stagg was sentenced to 10 years and was later murdered on hunger strike. Fr Fell is still serving his 12 year sentence.

The most notorious framings concern the Guildford/Woolwich bombings and the Birmingham bombings. In October 1975 Paul Hill, Patrick Armstrong, Carole Richardson and Gerry Conlon were gaoled for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings. They were gaoled on the basis of 'confessions' made after beatings, sleep deprivation and denial of food. They were convicted despite the many inconsistencies and contradictions in the police 'evidence' and particularly despite Carole Richardson's cast-iron alibi for the time of the Guildford bombings. Their appeal, following the Balcombe Street Active Service Unit's claiming of the Guildford and Woolwich bombings, was rejected. At the Balcombe Street trial the police forensic 'expert' Higgs was shown to have concealed vital evidence about these bombings at the instigation of the Bomb Squad.

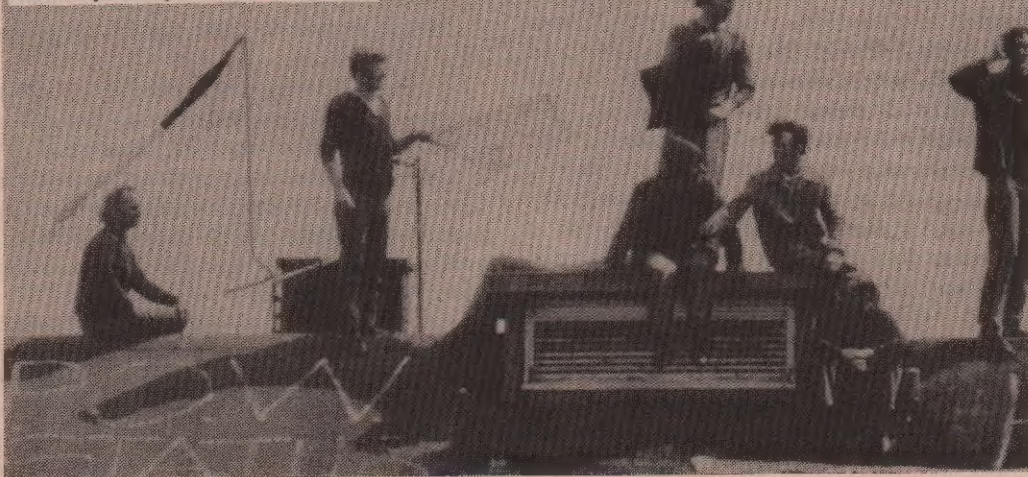
After the Birmingham explosions 6 men – John Walker, Patrick Hill, Robert Hunter, Noel McKenny, William Power and Hugh Callaghan – were arrested and brutally beaten. Not surprisingly four of them 'confessed' after mental and physical torture including mock executions and threats against their families. The Prison Medical Officer Dr Harwood testified that the six were 'black, blue, battered and bleeding' when they arrived at Winson Green prison. The screws at the prison then beat them up to cover up the evidence of the police beating. All six were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment mainly on the basis of 'confessions' beaten out of them. Later their appeals were rejected and their attempt to bring charges of assault against the police were stopped by Lord Denning who regarded exposure of police brutality as 'an appalling vista'. The Winson Green screws, needless to say, were acquitted of assault.

This is imperialist 'justice' for Irish prisoners: lies, beatings, framings, conspiracy charges, perjured evidence, and *agents provocateurs*. All this has been openly used against the Irish without a whisper of protest from the so-called Labour and trade union movement or their 'critical' allies, the

CPGB, SWP, etc on the British 'left'. It is little surprise that after the uprisings by black youth last summer, conspiracy charges are now being applied in the Bradford 12 case.

Irish Republican volunteers have not meekly accepted British 'justice'. They have resisted. Nowhere more so than in the case of the Balcombe Street four. Joe O'Connell, Eddie Butler, Harry Duggan and Hugh Doherty – along with Brendan Dowd – were responsible for many of the most successful IRA operations in Britain in 1974 and 1975. They formed a courageous, dedicated and highly professional Active Service Unit.

Gartree prison protest, July 1978



On 6 December 1975 they were surprised by the police while raking Scotts Restaurant Mayfair with bullets. Knowing the fate that awaited them – beatings or indeed murder – they decided to surround their arrest with maximum publicity by entering a house in Balcombe Street and taking a married couple hostage. On 12 December having achieved their purpose they surrendered.

At the trial, true to the revolutionary traditions of the IRA, they refused to plead and only recognised the court in so far as it was necessary to expose the Guildford/Woolwich frame-up by making it clear they had carried out the operations. They used their right to challenge the jury to produce a working class jury including five women and four blacks. The original 'randomly selected' jury panel included one man who attended church with Róss McWhirter, some nurses who attended those injured after the explosions and others who had relatives in the British army.

The four conducted the trial with such skill that the Guildford/Woolwich frame-up was decisively exposed and the political character of their actions made clear. This can be seen from Joe O'Connell's speech from the dock to the jury from which we have already given extracts above. So successful were the Balcombe Street Four that the jury found them not guilty of 26 out of the 100 charges against them. Some of the jurors were reported to have been in favour of complete acquittal on the grounds that the actions of the four had been justified. So outraged were the police that they attempted to question the jury about why they had acquitted on some charges. This is completely illegal interference. The police even arrested the whole jury in a local pub where they had gone after the sentencing and where they were volubly expressing indignation at the vicious life sentences Judge Cantley handed down. They had however to release them almost immediately.

In the Six Counties British imperialism has abolished jury courts for so-called 'terrorist' offences. They have not yet done so here in Britain, maybe because they feel that even the corrupt and bankrupt British Labour and trade union movement would be forced to protest. Instead they try and influence juries by their 'security' measures or 'vet' juries to suit their own requirements. The Balcombe Street case shows that the police and judiciary cannot always have their own way when faced with an unprejudiced working class jury. A few months after this case the Labour government secretly reduced the right of challenge of jurors from seven to three.

Resistance in prison

Dolours and Marion Price, Hugh Feeney and Gerard Kelly went on hunger-strike in 1973 to demand the right to serve their sentences in the Six Counties of Ireland. All four – part of the Belfast 10 – had been sentenced to life imprisonment having been tried for causing explosions and conspiracy. British soldiers found guilty of offences in the Six Counties of Ireland are almost automatically repatriated to serve their sentences in Britain. By 1976 statistics showed that 12 UDA prisoners sentenced in England had been transferred to the

Six Counties to serve their sentences. However this right is denied Irish prisoners of war.

The Price sisters, Kelly and Feeney endured 167 days of force-feeding out of the 206 days spent on hunger-strike. Force-feeding, the ramming of a tube down the throat and into the stomach, is a form of torture. It is not designed to save the health of a hunger striker but to break their spirit. They ended their hunger-strike four days after the murder of Michael Gaughan after a promise of repatriation to the Six Counties by the 'end of the year'. Throughout the spring and into early summer Roy Jenkins had played dice with the lives

and health of the prisoners. The death of Michael Gaughan exposed to the world the vicious reactionary character of this Labour Home Secretary and the Labour government to which he belonged. Roy Jenkins has a 'liberal' reputation. This is lying propaganda. Jenkins allowed the torture and murder of Irish prisoners in British gaols, he set up the Starritt enquiry to cover up for the Special Branch framing of Irish Republicans, and he introduced the draconian anti-Irish Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The Price Sisters were finally repatriated to Armagh on the 18 March 1975 having first been transferred to Durham. Kelly and Feeney were repatriated a month later – four months after the expiry of Jenkins' 'end of the year' deadline. No other Irish prisoners have been granted this right.

Five Irish POWs have been murdered in British prisons since 1974. Michael Gaughan joined the hunger strike on 31 March 1974. On 3 June he died after the force-feeding tube had been shoved through his lung. Frank Stagg joined Michael Gaughan on the hunger strike and ended his strike on an unfulfilled promise of repatriation. After transfer to Long Lartin he again went on hunger strike and only came off after being promised he would not have to do prison work nor would he, his wife, sisters and friends have to undergo humiliating strip searches on the occasion of visits. He was transferred to Wakefield in a very weak state. Work was again demanded of him. He refused and was put down in the block on solitary confinement. On 14 December 1975 he went on hunger strike for the third time. On 12 February 1976 he died, another Irish prisoner murdered by the British prison system. In his last message he wrote:

'We are a risen people, this time we will not be driven into the gutter, even if this should mean dying for justice. The fight must go on. I want my memorial to be Peace with Justice.'

Noel Jenkinson was framed for the Aldershot bombing in 1972. Held in top security units and frequently beaten he was found dead in Leicester Special Security Block on 9 October 1976. An independent autopsy was refused. Sean O'Connell was sentenced to life imprisonment on 27 April 1974 for shooting the commander of a British Army Camp in Otterburn, Northumberland. He contracted cancer and despite this being known he was given no treatment other than indigestion tablets and ointment to rub on his chest. On 1 October 1977 he died after eighteen months of agony. Giuseppe Conlon was framed with the Maguire family in a show trial at the Old Bailey between January and March 1976. He was arrested in England while travelling to visit his son Gerard Conlon, one of the Guildford four. He went into prison, frail and suffering from TB. Denied adequate medical treatment, put into the woodwork shop and then the paint-shop at Wakefield where the dust and fumes caused him agony, he died on 23 January 1980 – the fifth Irish prisoner to be murdered in a British prison during the present campaign. And all these five brutal murders were carried out with little or no protest from the British Labour and trade union movement.

Irish POWs have always, because of their organised revolutionary resistance, been picked out for special brutality. In August 1976 Irish POWs took part in the Hull prison rising. After the rising Gerry Cunningham, Ray McLaughlin, John Walker, Paul Hill, Martin Brady, and Joe Duffy were forced to walk a gauntlet of screws who kicked, punched and batoned them. In September 1976 six Irish POWs in Albany, protesting against the solitary confinement of Brendan Dowd, were brutally beaten by a mob of screws. Fr Fell, framed in the Coventry seven trial, got a broken nose and had stitches to the head. Sean Campbell suffered a broken arm, broken leg, broken ribs, broken fingers, a punctured lung, extensive bruising and abrasions.

In August 1979 a peaceful protest of prisoners in Wormwood Scrubs was attacked by a 300 strong MUFTI squad of screws wielding batons. Irish POW Roland Lynch suffered a badly bleeding head wound and extensive painful bruising to the head and body. 69 others had to be treated for head injuries. Four Irish POWs were moved to other prisons along with many other prisoners.

Every means is deployed to stamp out the revolutionary resistance of Irish POWs. Not only murder and beatings but also isolation. In 1977 86 out of 92 Irish POWs were in top security Category A. Of 12 prisoners held in Special Security Blocks in Parkhurst and Leicester, six are Irish POWs who are held in total isolation from the rest of the prison population.

Solitary confinement, either as punishment or under the infamous Rule 43 (for good order and discipline), is a major weapon used against Irish POWs. Hugh Doherty and Eddie Butler were held in solitary confinement for two years and four months. Patrick Hackett has been in solitary for nearly two years in Wakefield. After the Hull rising Joe Duffy spent 18 months and Ray McLaughlin 12 months in solitary confinement. Liam McLarnon spent two years in solitary under rule 43.

To break up resistance, solidarity and organisation Irish POWs are subjected to constant transfers. Between July 1975 and October 1977 Brendan Dowd was transferred ten times! Transfers are frequently timed to coincide with visits so that relatives, after long and expensive journeys, arrive at the prison to be informed that the prisoner concerned has been transferred to another prison 200 miles or more away. Families are subjected to harassment and visits interfered with in a further effort to isolate the POWs.

Despite all this brutality – unchanging under Labour and Tory governments – Irish POWs have earned a justified reputation as leaders of resistance in the prisons. Patrick Hackett, who lost an arm and a leg in a premature explosion, has refused to wear prison uniform since 1976. Despite failing eyesight and poor health – a result of nearly two years solitary confinement – his resistance continues.

Irish POWs have used rooftop protests, hunger strikes, blanket protests, work strikes to defend their rights as prisoners and promote their demands for political status and repatriation. All these protests are followed by beatings, solitary confinement and loss of remission. Yet the fight continues.

Paul Hill was one of those who released Artie Clifford from the punishment block during the Hull rising of August 1976. Artie Clifford's barbaric treatment was the immediate cause of the rising. The leading role which Irish POWs have played in the prison resistance movement has forged strong bonds of solidarity between the Irish prisoners and other prisoners especially the black prisoners. So that when Irish POWs took to the roof at Long Lartin from 4 May to 10 May 1981 in protest at the murder of Bobby Sands, the other prisoners united to prevent any attack on the POWs.

The unceasing brutality against Irish POWs exposes the real character of British 'democracy' – a 'democracy' of the rich founded on imperialist repression, murder, beatings and torture. The resistance of Irish POWs not only sharply exposes the abject failure of the British Labour and trade union movement to defend fundamental democratic rights, but has demonstrated time and again that the real defenders of democracy, the real fighters for justice are the heroic captured Irish freedom fighters incarcerated in British gaols.

David Reed
April 1982

To be continued



DISCUSSION ON POLAND Sean Mac Stiofain

We publish below excerpts from a lengthy communication sent to us by Sean Mac Stiofain. Comrade Sean Mac Stiofain was one of the outstanding leaders of the IRA in the late '60s and early '70s, and was the IRA Chief of Staff from 1969-1973. After playing a decisive role in rescuing the IRA from the clutches of the reformist and pro-imperialist Official IRA in 1969/70, he helped mould the Provisional IRA into a militant and revolutionary organisation of the Irish people's war against British imperialism. Readers of FRFI can read about comrade Mac Stiofain's role in the revolutionary movement in Parts 8, 9 and 10 of the Communist Tradition on Ireland - FRFI No. 14, 15, 17.

We are printing the comrade's discussion on Poland as part of an exchange of views amongst revolutionaries and anti-imperialists. While not necessarily agreeing with all the points made, we nevertheless draw readers' attention to the fundamental point of revolutionary unity - the principled anti-imperialist defence of socialism in Poland and the need to get imperialist hands off socialist Poland - which are made in Sean Mac Stiofain's discussion.

Sean Mac Stiofain maintains a lively interest in the development of the communist and working class movement in Britain and in our next issue we shall publish some of his views on FRFI, on the potential role of a communist movement in Britain and its relation to the Irish liberation struggle.

We of course welcome discussion on all the points raised by Comrade Mac Stiofain.

On Poland

Now I found the editorial in FRFI 15 on Poland most interesting. But I suppose as we have been carrying on in our dialogue over the past 2 years it'll do no harm and will not affect our relationship at all if I give you my own feelings on the Polish situation. First of all, as a revolutionary 18 months ago I welcomed the establishment of Solidarity because I saw the need for a completely free trade union movement, that is a trade union movement free from the Party, free from the state apparatus. I felt and still feel that a free trade union

movement can play an enormous part in promoting and preserving revolutionary socialism in a state where capitalism has been overthrown.

However, as time went on, I felt apprehensive about the way things were going. I felt that the leadership of Solidarity made a bad mistake when they sympathised or helped or encouraged Polish farmers to try and form a farmers' union. I think farmers everywhere a most conservative reactionary bunch of people who are going. And I became concerned also about a number of other things. I felt that they were going beyond their original objective, beyond

their original terms of reference if you like. And again, right back at the beginning I realised that Solidarity would be open for infiltration by the CIA, by British intelligence, West German intelligence and any one of quite a number of western imperialist or capitalist intelligence services.

I think that is what has happened. They have been infiltrated and they have been foolish enough to accept help from right wing trade unions in the capitalist countries, and they have now made a mess of things. And of course they present a golden opportunity to Reagan and Thatcher, those two arch reactionaries too. And then the Solidarity leadership condemned the system in Poland and presented themselves as peace-loving supporters of democracy and supporters of minority rights and supporters of freedom. Of course, for that in itself, the leadership of Solidarity should be condemned. But I'm hopeful that between one thing and another a solution will be found without too much stick against the rank and file.

One thing that strikes me, that I can't understand, is how was it that the previous Polish governments entered into these loan agreements with capitalist banks and put themselves in debt to the tune of many many million pounds. How is it that a revolutionary socialist stand why they couldn't have negotiated what aid they required from the Soviet Union. But now, however, it's done I think it would be a great revolutionary step for the present Polish government to just announce that it's liquidating all their foreign debts and see what would happen then. I've got a very shrewd idea what would happen then. If the real powers in the western capitalist countries, that is if the banks and the people

behind the banks felt they were going to be down thousands of millions of pounds, I think it would create a very dangerous situation indeed. I'd like to see that happen but I've a feeling however that it will not happen.

But broadly speaking, I'd agree that all revolutionaries must support the present Polish leadership in opposing by any means at all the restoration of any form of capitalism in Poland. I suppose what we must do is hope for the best that they will work out a Polish solution to a Polish problem. It is vital as you say yourself that Poland must not be turned into a base for counter-revolution, and that any inroads into the eastern bloc, the socialist countries there, would set back the struggle of mankind for a life free from oppression. I find that I must tell you that I'd feel the same way about the Soviet Union, if something is going on there. It doesn't mean that I accept blindly that everything in the Soviet Union is as revolutionary as socialists would want it to be, obviously it isn't.

Anyway, to get back to your editorial on Poland. I feel it's about one of the best I've seen on the subject so far. I think you've done a service to revolutionaries who wouldn't perhaps have the means or the knowledge that you obviously have to present a balanced and realistic picture of the situation there. But one of the things that is difficult to answer is when you get pictures or reports of strikers being fired on or batoned by police and troops. And I just hope that the situation can be cleared up without any excess force on the part of the Polish military. It's an extremely dicey situation to put it mildly. But I certainly agree with your slogans there: 'Imperialist Hands Off Socialist Poland!' and 'Cancel All Polish Debts to British Banks!' Again, I agree with you that all revolutionaries duce capitalism in any form whatsoever, in Poland, or any other of the Soviet states. And we must accept them for what they are: that they're not without fault and they're not perfect but nevertheless they do represent a tremendous step forward on the systems and the set-ups that were there prior to the establishment of the Soviet government in Russia and the establishment of socialist government in the eastern states.

Palestine

continued from page 1

various services with the assistance of a joint PLO/Jordanian fund. However in August of 1981, the Israeli government prohibited municipalities from receiving any further finance from this fund. The result will be disastrous for the Palestinian community - 60% of municipal operations' budgets and 100% of development budgets came from this fund.

This process of transforming the West Bank and Gaza into bantustan-like areas and the formation of Zionist settlements has besides its economic aims also a political dimension - the complete political and military subjugation of the Palestinian people and the utter destruction of the political power of the Palestinian revolutionary movement. This is summed up in a statement from the World Zionist Federation evaluation of prospects for the West Bank for 1980-1985. It reads:

'... (land) should be seized right away with the purpose of settling the areas between and around the centres occupied by minorities (ie the Palestinians!) ...

...being cut off by Jewish settlements, the population will find it difficult to form a territorial and political continuity ...'

The establishment of civilian/military settlements has been accompanied by the severest repression - murder, concentration camps, banning orders, house or town arrest and the destruction of the homes of families whose members resist the occupation. Indeed, since 1967 over 19,000 Palestinian homes have been demolished by the Zionists in the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem.

Behind this Zionist expansionism and oppression stands British and US imperialism. Whilst Margaret Thatcher has been spouting the most disgusting and hypocritical phrases about democracy and self-determination in a fit of imperialist anger at the Argentinian occupation of the Falkland Islands British colony, she has said nothing about the Zionist murder and oppression in Palestine, she has said nothing about the right of the Palestinian people to democracy and self-determination. This comes as no surprise, for it was British imperialism which first established the 'Israeli' state and destroyed the Palestinian homeland, with the express intention to make it a counter-revolutionary bastion in the Middle-East. Sir Ronald Storrs, a British colonial governor in Palestine said:

'A Jewish state... could be for England "a little loyal Jewish Ulster" in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism.'

And indeed, this is what 'Israel' is. In the most literal sense, it is an arm of imperialism in the Middle-East which is used to try and suppress the revolutionary movement of the Arab peoples and the Palestinian people in particular. Right at this very moment, 20,000 Israeli troops are massed on the border of Lebanon in preparation for yet a further invasion of the country to try and destroy the Lebanese and Palestinian revolutionary forces. Last December, whilst the British government, followed by its sycophantic press mounted a virulent campaign against socialist Poland, the Zionists, quietly and with hardly a protest annexed the Golan Heights in Syria. Whilst talking of sanctions against socialist Poland, and today enforcing sanctions against Argentina, British imperialism readily trades with and invests in 'Israel'. British Leyland owns 30% of the Israeli Motor Corporation and the Israeli Financial Trust is owned by British Triumph Investment. Harland and Wolff, notorious for its discrimination against Catholics in the Six Counties of northern Ireland, is building bulk coal carriers for Israel, while Leyland is supplying buses and spare parts and other

British firms are also doing new and increasing deals.

Besides its reactionary role in the Middle-East, 'Israel' is a decisive link in the world imperialist chain of counter-revolution in Africa and Latin America. The Zionist state maintains extensive military and economic links with the racist South African state, with the Pinochet regime in Chile and with other imperialist puppet dictatorships in Latin America. It is the main supplier of arms, ammunition and communications equipment to the fascist Guatemalan junta, and since 1973 it has been Zionist advisers in El Salvador who have spearheaded the most vicious terror against workers and peasants fighting against imperialism. It is no wonder, then, that all British governments have been steadfast defenders of this racist, expansionist puppet of imperialism.

British communists and revolutionaries on the other hand, unreservedly stand with and support the forces of revolution in Palestine led by the Palestine Liberation Organisation who are fighting for the liberation of the Palestinian people, for the destruction of the Zionist state and the establishment of a democratic, secular Palestinian state in which all will be equal.

Roy Spring

CENTRAL AMERICA IN BRIEF

● US Imperialism calls on Chile

The recent visit by US Assistant Secretary of State, Thomas Enders, to Santiago was the most senior US representation to Chile since the CIA backed Pinochet coup in 1973. US representatives discussed 'hemispheric security' and claimed to be observing developments of human rights in Chile. Enders' true purpose is to cover up continuing genocidal repression of workers by the fascist junta in order that extra US money can be pumped into the Chilean armed forces. In return these forces are to be laid at the disposal of the US imperialists. Already Chilean troops train and assist the Haitian security forces, and Chilean planes are given to the Haitian airforce.

During the first two months of 1982, the Chilean Human Rights Commission reported 174 political arrests to accompany tens of thousands of murders, disappearances and political prisoners which have marked the rule of this imperialist client since 1973.

Trevor Rayne

● British TUC visits Jamaica

Returning from a recent Caribbean jaunt TUC chief Len Murray was full of praise for what he called the 'enlightened attitude' of Caribbean governments towards the region's trade unions. Included on Murray's itinerary was Jamaica where Prime Minister Seaga has launched a full-blooded assault on Jamaican workers' living standards and rights.

Unemployment in Jamaica is officially put at 27%. During 1981, the value of manufacturing sales fell by 40%; local firms have been closed down and small farmers bought off their lands by multinationals such as Gulf and Western and United Brands. In recent struggles the strike has been challenged as 'an assault on jobs'. Rockefeller's First National City Bank has offered bonuses to employees if they will leave their unions. Israeli and British troops have been brought in to train local security forces which last year killed 252 civilians.

No wonder US President Reagan can cite Jamaica as an example of 'how freedom can work' and Len Murray, leader of a trade union movement which has actively attempted to head off resistance to growing unemployment and destitution in Britain can echo him.

Trevor Rayne

● El Salvador after the elections

The 28 March elections in El Salvador changed nothing for the country's workers and peasants. 14 families still own 70% of the land, imperialist capital still controls the nation's economy and the US armed and trained junta continues its bloody repression against the revolutionary forces of the FMLN fighting to overthrow this imperialist system of oppression and exploitation. The US favoured Christian Democrats led by President Duarte, failed to get an absolute majority of 60 contested seats. The main force in any government will therefore be the fascist ARENA party headed by Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, described by a former US ambassador to El Salvador as a 'pathological killer'. D'Aubuisson is responsible for the most savage of the counter-revolutionary death squads in El Salvador and intends to freely use napalm to wipe out 'subversives'. The FMLN/FDR immediately after the elections declared:

'...the vote count is not over and D'Aubuisson has already spent the morning having breakfast with the US ambassador... and... the leaders of the six parties had lunch with the ambassador following his invitation. The people of El Salvador ask themselves: What is the meaning of the election if the day after... the politicians meet in the house of the Yankee representative to split the pie.

The FMLN and FDR once again reaffirm our policy explained prior to the elections: the popular war will continue and our disposition to begin negotiations to achieve peace remains standing before, during and after the elections.'

Eddie Abrahams



● New opportunist party

A new thoroughly reformist and opportunist party has entered the political arena of the Free State. Masquerading behind the title of Democratic Socialist Party it was launched aptly by rabid pro-imperialist parliamentarian Jim Kemmy on 31 March. An accurate assessment of DSP's likely role can be provided by an inspection of its founder member's record. An arch supporter of the Coalition government until it introduced a savage (and politically suicidal) budget last February, Kemmy voted for massive cuts in public expenditure in Autumn 81 and vociferously supported the consolidation of imperialist forces in the Six Counties, which he regards as a separate nation.

● IRSP appeal fails

Framed IRSP member Nicky Kelly has had an appeal against a twelve year jail sentence, imposed by the juryless Special Criminal Court for his alleged part in the Sallins mail train robbery, which netted £500,000 in March 1976, turned down. In announcing the decision the Court of Criminal Appeal hopes to cover up a saga of state victimisation and torture that dates back to the aftermath of the robbery.

When the IRA pulled off the brilliant tactical coup in March the Free State Garda, unaware of the fact then and terrified by the growing strength and determination of the young Irish Republican Socialist Party, used the occasion to launch a vicious political attack against the party with a view to smashing it. Over 40 IRSP members were arrested, many of whom were tortured and only six were charged. The rest were sentenced to 12 years in December 1978. Two, Osgur Breathnach and Bernard McNally were subsequently released after appealing on grounds of illegal detention and assault and battery. The Appeal Court ignored the fact that the Special Court which had sentenced Kelly to 12 years had refused to admit crucial gardai witnesses who had heard his screams during interrogation. The end result was a carefully contrived cover up with the court maintaining Kelly's injuries were self-inflicted.

● Garda conference

Free State gardai higher echelons are becoming increasingly strident, even to the point of government embarrassment, in their advocacy of extensive collaboration between the police forces north and south. Positive indication of this came last month from the annual conference of the Association of Garda Sergeants and Inspectors—the body that represents senior gardai officers.

At their conference senior garda passed a resolution calling for extradition of political offenders between one jurisdiction and the next. In attendance to hear the call being made were specially invited senior members of the RUC who must have been additionally delighted by the purport in the sergeants express desire to have RUC thugs present at interrogation of suspected north-based 'terrorists' detained in the south.

The fact that extradition exists in effect through the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act which allows people who have committed crimes in the north to be tried in the south was ignored by the garda but brought to their attention by the Free State Minister for Justice who valiantly defended the government record on extradition.

Other proposals backed by garda included increasing powers to search and question using reasonable force and without arrest, abolition of the right to bail and to remain silent and a general power to detain people for 24 hours.

One note on the light side to conclude: some gardai units were very annoyed by the lack of visual identification of plain clothes officers, a consequence of anti-war garda battering garda during the police riot at the British embassy last July.

BRITISH AND LOYALISTS COLLABORATE

The British Army and the RUC have always collaborated with and assisted the vicious death squads of the UDA and the UVF in their attempts to suppress, terrorise and murder the resisting nationalist community of the Six Counties of north east Ireland. Whilst the British Army and the RUC constitute the 'official' forces of oppression, they have always relied and continue to rely on the 'unofficial' forces of sectarian Loyalist murder gangs. Three recent cases reveal once again this close co-operation.

On Thursday 25 March, British soldiers kidnapped 27 year old nationalist John Clarke in West Belfast. John and his cousin were stopped by an army patrol. They grabbed John, threw him into one of their jeeps and drove into the Loyalist Highfield estate. John describes what happened next: 'When the first jeep pulled up a Brit jumped out and called two men over who were standing at a corner. A few minutes later they jumped back into the jeep and shouted "Get him, he's a taig!"... The Brits then threw me out of the jeep, punching me... and shouted at me to run. I stood on, bewildered because I thought they would only shoot me if I did run and then say later that I was trying to escape.' The two men then attacked John hitting him across the head with an iron bar. Fortunately he managed to escape without more serious injury. He had to have five stitches in his head.

Nearly a month later on 20 April, the isolated nationalist district of the Short Strand in East Belfast was once again subjected to one of its regular invasions by the UDR who sealed off streets, raided and wrecked homes harassing and abusing the population. A week later,

the nationalist community was supplemented by 'unofficial' terror, when a car bomb placed close to two social clubs exploded without warning. Miraculously however, no serious injuries were caused by the bomb, although 8

people were taken to hospital suffering from minor injuries and shock. Needless to say at the time of the bomb attack the 'official' security forces were nowhere to be seen.

Meanwhile in the second week of April, the discovery of arms in the HQ of the UDA led to the arrest and charging of 6 leading UDA members. This in turn led to the exposure of UDA-held files on suspected Republicans. Such files have been the basis of numerous sectarian assassinations carried out by the UDA and UVF. The discovery of these files, which could only have come from the 'official' security forces proves once again that the British army readily passes on information to loyalist death squads. Despite this Prior has repeated that the British Government will not ban this terror organisation. The arrests, coming just when Prior was attempting to push through his latest 'initiative' (rolling devolution) are therefore no more than a cosmetic operation designed to suggest some 'even-handedness' on the part of the British Government. Meanwhile the UDA continues its sectarian attacks.

As in the case of Central American governments, in its attempts to crush a revolutionary democratic movement, relies on the basest and most reactionary elements in society.

Andrew Jones

GERRY MACLOCHLAINN SENTENCE REDUCED

An appeal against the conviction of Gerry MacLochlainn was heard at the Court of Criminal Appeal on Monday 26 April.

The appeal was put forward on the grounds that Gerry had been charged under the wrong act; that evidence introduced into the trial relating to Jim Reilly, who died before the case came to court, was prejudicial; and that the Judge's summing up had been confused and biased. Gerry MacLochlainn was convicted on a trumped up charge of conspiracy to cause explosions and sentenced to six years in April 1981.

Needless to say the appeal was turned down. The judges have yet to give their reasons. However they did knock two years off Gerry's sentence. Congratulations to Gerry on the reduction of his sentence but we do not forget that he should not be in prison in the first place.

TM

DEFEND MAY DAY 2!

Two FRFI supporters, Chris Procter and Terry O'Halloran, were arrested on the May Day march in London whilst marching on the South London Irish Solidarity Committee contingent. At 2.30pm police Inspector Summers attempted to stop the chanting of 'British army murderers out!' on the grounds that his son was in the army.

The two were charged with breach of the peace and after much pressure from FRFI supporters were released on bail after 4 hours. The police had repeatedly denied the two bail.

FRFI supporters got Arthur Latham of the Labour Party to announce the arrests - pointing out that NF supporters who threw peanuts and bananas at a black steel band were left alone - and £29 was collected. However, at the time of the arrests, organiser Bill Nicholson refused to halt the march. Alf Dubs MP

and Bob MacTaggart MP phoned the police station. Ron Brown MP and Joan Richardson MP promised to help.

The two appear in court at Thames Court, Aylward Street E1 on Wednesday 19 May at 10.00am. Be there! Give money! Support the campaign against this police attack on the right of political expression. Send donations to:

May Day 2 Defence Campaign
c/o BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX



Stephen McCoomy

PLASTIC DEATH

Review of 'They Shoot Children' Information on Ireland, 0.50p plus 20p p&p available from Larkin Publications.

The 'non-lethal' plastic bullet, and its rubber predecessor, has been responsible for the deaths of fourteen Irish men, women and children. Seven children are among the murdered fourteen. The latest child victim of plastic bullet terror was 11 year old Stephen McCoomy who died on Monday 19 April 1982 - almost exactly ten years after the first victim died. The fourteen murdered to date are:

	age
23 April 1972	Francis Rowntree 11
16 July 1972	Tobias Molloy 18
22 May 1973	Thomas Friel 21
30 August 1975	Stephen Geddis 10
10 October 1976	Brian Stewart 13
10 August 1980	Michael Donnelly 21
25 April 1981	Paul Whitters 15
13 May 1981	Julie Livingstone 14
22 May 1981	Carol Ann Kelly 12
22 May 1981	Henry Duffy 45
9 July 1981	Nora McCabe 30
9 July 1981	Peter Boharty 40
9 August 1981	Peter Magennis 41
19 April 1982	Stephen McCoomy 11

This list does not include the countless numbers blinded and maimed for life by plastic bullets such as 51 year old Emma Groves (blinded 4 November 1971) and 10 year old Richard Moore (blinded 4 May 1972).

Far from being the 'harmless' weapon of imperialist propaganda the plastic bullet is a weapon of terror and death. It is one of a range of 'riot control' weapons which are designed for use against unarmed crowds—that is to say it is a specifically anti-civilian weapon. Its purpose is to strike terror into the nationalist working class in an effort to destroy popular demonstrations of support for the national liberation struggle. The fact that its victims are, without exception, unarmed civilians is not an accident: it is a deliberate strategy of imperialism. So much for the nauseating imperialist cant about fighting 'terrorism'.

Indeed plastic bullets—ever since they started life as bamboo bullets in the imperialist colony of Hong Kong—have always been a weapon to use against anyone who stands up against the imperialist system. This is why they have now been issued to British police forces for use against black and white working

Plastic bullets



Derry man with shattered eye

class youth who rise up against the racist imperialist state. British imperialism, from Hong Kong to Belfast to Brixton, is fully prepared to kill or maim anyone who opposes its racist barbaric rule. James Prior, demonstrating typical imperialist contempt for the lives of the oppressed, declared, after Stephen McCoomy died, 'I don't believe at the moment that it would be right to bring about a change of policy' in the use of plastic bullets. This ruling class butcher cares nothing for the lives of Irish children cut down by his agents.

The fact that the British army and RUC can, with impunity, murder or maim Irish men, women and children with plastic bullets is yet further testimony to the abject treachery of the Labour and trade union leadership. Not even the slaughter of children moves them to protest. Throughout the months of the hunger strike last year nearly 30,000 plastic bullets were fired on unarmed demonstrators and seven people died as imperialism tried to drown in blood the hunger strike campaign. Not one protest from the Labour and trade union leadership!

Terry Marlowe

The six prisoners—Sean Campbell, Eddie Byrne, Father Patrick Fell, Liam MacLarnon, Con McFadden, John McCluskey—represent a typical cross section of the Irish POWs in English gaols. All six faced conspiracy charges. **Sean Campbell** was one of the Luton Three who were framed on the evidence of police agent Kenneth Lennon (see FRFI 12). Sean was sentenced to 10 years in December 1973 for 'conspiracy to rob persons unknown'.

Eddie Byrne was jailed by Judge Croom-Johnson in February 1975 along with Ann and Eileen Gillespie, Martin Coughlan and Pat Guilfoyle. They were charged with conspiracy to cause explosions and possession. Eddie got 18 years reduced on appeal to 14.

Father Patrick Fell was one of the Coventry 7 case in Birmingham in October 1973. All seven were held in solitary while on remand. The court hearings were conducted as a 'show trial' with massive police 'security' designed to prejudice and intimidate the jury. The charge was conspiracy to cause explosions, conspiracy to commit arson, conspiracy to cause criminal damage and management of an association contrary to Section 2(1)(b) of the Public Order Act 1936—the 'association' being 'the Coventry unit of the IRA'. Father Fell was found not guilty on the first charge but guilty on the others. No explosions had taken place in the Coventry area and no explosives or traces of explosives were found. The 'evidence' presented by the police included such things as a street map of Coventry and a Sinn Féin banner! One of the seven, Frank Stagg, was murdered in prison on hunger strike (see FRFI 14). Father Fell was given twelve years and has protested his innocence ever since.

Liam McLarnon was one of the Belfast Ten jailed in November 1973 by Judge Seamus Shaw. Nineteen years old at the time, the 'stainment' beaten out of Liam by the police was the main evidence against him. Liam was beaten in Brixton and again whilst being transferred to Winchester for the trial. After conviction he was held for 2 years in solitary in Wormwood Scrubs, moved to Wakefield and put in solitary again. In December 1975 he went on hunger strike with Frank Stagg and others during which he was frequently beaten. After the hunger strike he was sentenced to 43 days solitary which he served in Durham in a filthy cell infested with cockroaches and mice and so small that he could not stand upright in it.

Irish Prisoners in English Gaols ALBANY 1976

In September 1976 six Irish POWs were brutally beaten by armed screws in Albany top security prison on the Isle of Wight. All were subsequently given long periods of solitary confinement and lost massive amounts of remission. Their offence? They staged a peaceful protest against the isolation and harassment of Brendan Dowd (see FRFI 16). This attack on Irish POWs was carried out, covered up and defended by a Labour government. Roy Jenkins, now a leader of the SDP, was Home Secretary at the time and therefore directly responsible for what happened. Not one whisper of protest was heard from Tony Benn or from any other member of the Labour government.

Con McFadden was one of the Uxbridge Eight charged with conspiracy to cause explosions. The Uxbridge Eight trial in the Old Bailey in March 1975 was presided over by the notorious Melford Stevenson who attacked the defence for criticising the police and ruled that the defence lawyers should not receive any payment from public funds! Con was given 20 years.

John McCluskey was also one of the Uxbridge Eight. His sentence of 20 years had to be reduced to ten years when it was discovered that it included an amount for an offence which John had not been charged with!

These were the six who were to be the victims of a screw riot in Albany.

Screw riot in Albany

The screw riot arose out of the solitary confinement of Brendan Dowd. Dowd, as reported in FRFI 16, was subjected to 23 months solitary between 17 July 1975 and 31 October 1977. At Albany, after 3 weeks association, screw provocation led to Brendan Dowd being put into solitary. It was this provocation and arbitrary punishment that the six protested against. That these six POWs were prepared to risk certain punishment on behalf of a comrade is but one example of the solidarity among Irish POWs. Father Fell saw the Governor twice in an effort to end the harassment of Brendan Dowd. Nothing was done.

So on 16 September 1976 the six decided on protest action.

They sat down in a spur on the landing in a peaceful protest. They were not interfering with the administration of the prison or blocking the access of other prisoners to their cells. The Governor came, spoke to the six, went away and did nothing. The protest continued as peacefully as it had begun. At 9pm Deputy Governor Guinan arrived. Filled with the petty sarcasm of the petty tyrant Guinan said that no complaints would be heard. He also instructed screws to lock a gate leading onto the spur. The cell doors were also locked automatically at that time. The six assumed they would be spending the night on the spur. About 9.30pm the lights went out. It was then that the six saw figures coming up the stairs. The Governor re-appeared, flanked by screws in full riot gear. There were now about 20 screws in riot gear and 20-30 others in ordinary uniform. Guinan told the six to disperse and then immediately unleashed his thugs. Kicking, punching, wielding batons this pack of riot squad 'heroes' mercilessly beat up six unarmed peacefully protesting Irish POWs. Another prisoner, unconnected to the protest, was moved to write to the *Guardian*:

'They [the screws] went to the spur and battered these six men to bits. All of us who were locked up could hear

the clubs and screams. It was sickening.'

Sean Campbell ended up with a broken arm, broken leg, two broken fingers, fractured ribs and multiple cuts, bruises and abrasions. He was carried to hospital on a stretcher. By 20 October—more than a month after the attack—he was still coughing up blood, walking badly and had not recovered full use of his left arm. Father Fell got a broken nose and stitches to the head. Eddie Byrne was beaten unconscious dragged by the hair and left naked on a stone floor in the punishment block. John McCluskey was beaten unconscious and left naked in a cell overnight with the window open. Two of his fingers were broken. Liam MacLarnon had stitches inserted in his face and head without anaesthetic. Con McFadden was dragged downstairs by his hair and suffered bruising all over his body.

For the 'crime' of being viciously beaten by screws all six were punished by the puppet Board of Visitors. Three got 91 days solitary plus 570 days loss of remission; two got 126 days of solitary plus 690 days loss of remission; one got 133 days solitary plus 690 days loss of remission. Sean Campbell was thrown into his solitary cell whilst still sick and suffering from the beating. Father Fell would be free today but for the savage sentence handed out by the Board of Visitors.

The Home Office produced its usual catalogue of foul lies. The six, according to the Home Office, attacked fifty screws! An explanation that reflects the British ruling class' cynical assurance that the cowed British press, the British Labour party, the TUC and all the other 'champions of civil rights' would say and do nothing about this barbarous onslaught on unarmed prisoners. Sean Campbell, according to the Home Office, with his broken limbs and serve a sentence of solitary confinement. They also claimed that he walked, on a broken leg, unaided to the segregation unit and then from there to the hospital wing!

The facts of the screw riot in Albany are clear: the prison regime deliberately organised and carried through this assault on unarmed Irish POWs in an attempt—only one of an endless series—to break the solidarity of the Irish POWs. As always their terror failed to break the POWs. The prison regime carried out this assault with the sanction and protection of such self-proclaimed

democrats as Roy Jenkins and Tony Benn who was a member of the Labour government at the time. Let this be remembered when the opportunists declare that the working class and oppressed should look forward to the 'benefits' of Labour government.

Terry Marlowe

REPUBLICAN POW SPEAKS OUT

The following are excerpts from a letter printed in *An Phoblacht/Republican News*. Stephen Nordonne's letter is powerful testimony to the anti-racist and internationalist stand taken by Irish POWs in English jails.

A Chara,
On behalf of the Irish republican POWs incarcerated in 'D' wing, Wormwood Scrubs on the night of August 31st 1979, I wish to make a reply to the scurrilous and misleading sections of Mr Gibson's report on the prison officers riot at that prison on that night. It would be pertinent to say that the report was one-sided, malicious and, indeed, in parts, totally fictitious.

The report... shows that the tension on the wing was created by republican POWs, black prisoners and London gangsters who were locked in rivalry with one another as they sought to obtain a degree of institutional power within the wing. The report labels these groups of prisoners and maliciously accuses them of intimidation. The fact is that these are the same social groupings that take place in any closed and artificial environment.

The solidarity that existed among the prisoners at Wormwood Scrubs can be easily seen by the fact that participation in protests and demonstrations was always 90%...

Irish Republican POWs in the 'Scrubs' (as in English prisons generally) were and are strongly organised in the tradition of captured Volunteers of the IRA. Our strength of organisation never has or never will be used to intimidate, pressurise or coerce any single or group of social prisoners. Institutional power is something we detest and deplore. Over the past ten years at the hands of the institutional power that is the British penal system we have suffered the deaths of four of our dearest comrades, mindless brutality, massive periods of solitary confinement, years without visits, and harassment in all forms. For Gibson to suggest that we are a faction intent on prison power is not only scurrilous, it is, in fact, a contradiction in itself, since it is contrary to the history of our prison struggle.

We show solidarity with all prisoners who struggle for better conditions in prison. We have a deep sense of solidarity with black prisoners because of the way they in particular are abused and mistreated by the large racist and fascist element within the Prison Officers Association. We have never had any influence over black prisoners save to urge them to resist oppression, to become politically conscious and to be assured of the solidarity of the POWs in the face of oppression. This we have pledged to any group of prisoners or individuals suffering at the hands of the penal system. This will continue to remain our stance...

Stephen Nordonne
Irish Republican POW
Wormwood Scrubs

REVIEW

Island in chains: Ten years on Robben Island by prisoner 885/63 as told by Indres Naidoo to Albie Sachs (Penguin Books £1.95 — available from Larkin Publications, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX. Add 30p p&p)

Indres Naidoo was one of the first volunteers of Umkhonto we Sizwe—the peoples army of South Africa—the armed wing of the African National Congress. This account of his imprisonment shows why the ANC is leading an armed struggle against apartheid. For apartheid is a system which has no regard for life—a system which must be smashed.

Upon being sentenced in 1963 to ten years for engaging in military operations of Umkhonto, Naidoo and four comrades raised their fists in the Amandla salute (power). The response from the public gallery of the court was one big roar of 'Ngawethu!' (to the people). Thus, after their arrest and torture, begins this book. The five are taken to Robben Island where the apartheid regime attempts to crush the will of its black political prisoners. This book is testimony to its failure. It is an account of resistance in the face of brutality, an account of courage which will

bring the certain victory of the revolution in South Africa. In introducing the book at a press conference in London, Indres Naidoo said:

'Robben Island is a school of revolution. No prisoner can come out depressed and demoralised. Robben Island has given me the strength to continue the struggle... I am now a full-time cadre for the ANC'.

The warders treat the prisoners worse than animals: they incessantly whip, beat, kick, strip, search and torture. One example of this torture is when one political prisoner complained at the vicious conditions of work. A hole was dug in the ground in which he was buried up to his neck. There he was left for 5 hours in the sun, and when thirsty the warden urinated in his face.

Another example of the racism and inhumanity of the authorities is their refusal to allow the prisoners newspapers. Yet despite frequent checks and

punishments the prisoners always succeed in smuggling newspapers. They teach each other what they learn and are so successful that they can tell the warders what is happening in the world. For the strongest weapons of the political prisoners are their solidarity, their determination and their dignity and with this they show who are the animals on Robben Island.

Their first major act of defiance is a mass hunger strike, sparked off by the warders cutting short the prisoners' meagre rations of food. For five days the prisoners go without food yet continue their work. On the second day they learn that Nelson Mandela and other leaders have joined the hunger strike and this renews their determination: they sing revolutionary songs with raised voices. These leaders are held in a prison within a prison—the isolation section of Robben Island. Despite this the other political prisoners know their leaders and hold them in respect and trust. They have good reason for their trust, for they discover that when Mandela was asked how he could take part in a strike when he did not even know what it was about, he replied 'Don't ask me. Ask the prisoners who started the action'.

The prisoners worry that they will be murdered: that the warders will force feed them as they know the British have done to prisoners on hunger strike. But on the sixth day they win. The first and most general demand of the political prisoners is their unconditional release and pending that the status of political prisoners. In the meantime they take every concession they can win. After the hunger strike they struggle on every front whilst support outside brings the Red Cross to visit the prison which in turn alleviates their conditions, even if only temporarily.

This unity and courage shown by the political prisoners influences the other prisoners on Robben Island. Some of these 'common' prisoners come to support the struggles of the political prisoners and at the same time seek education about the struggle to free South Africa.

In 1973 Indres Naidoo and two of his comrades were released: They were defiant to the very end. As they left the gates of the prison (to which they were transferred for their last days) they shouted 'Amandla!' and the crowd awaiting them replied 'Ngawethu!'

Chris Fraser

RCG-FRFI MONTHLY Round-up

Hit and Run Muggers in Dundee

On Saturday 17 April the police renewed their year old campaign against revolutionary meetings in the Square. An FRFI meeting on South Africa was broken up and our banner and megaphones stolen by police. Theft is the only word to describe the forcible seizure of property without legal pretext whatsoever. Dundee FRFI is campaigning to defend the democratic right of selling revolutionary literature, and the right to hold open air meetings.

London South Africa meeting

70 people attended a highly enthusiastic and successful meeting at the Camden Centre organised by FRFI under the slogans Victory to the ANC! Smash Apartheid Now! They heard excellent speeches from Amandla Kitson, daughter of imprisoned ANC-member David Kitson, Zola Zembe, South African Congress of Trade Unions, and Eddie Abrahams for FRFI.

Zola Zembe's speech was undoubtedly the highlight of the meeting. Praising the slogans of the meeting he declared that the ANC were smashing apartheid. His fine speech brought the audience to its feet in a standing ovation. At the end

of the meeting a special collection raised £30 for SACTU.

South London Irish Solidarity Committee

The South London Irish Solidarity Committee (SLISC) held a public meeting in Brixton on 30 April to mobilise support for the May 8 commemoration march. The audience was moved with anger as Mrs Hill, mother of Irish political prisoner Paul Hill, related how families such as theirs were reared amidst the murderous, racist activities of the British army. The meeting, chaired by Paul's brother, Patrick, also heard from Gerald Johnson (SLISC), a speaker from Sinn Fein, Jon Farley for the May 8 Committee and Chris Fraser for FRFI/RCG. There was a generous collection for SLISC and some came forward to help in future work.

This includes a demonstration on 17 July and a campaign against police harassment of SLISC's regular street meetings in Tooting.

Contact SLISC, BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX.

Glasgow victory

Readers of FRFI will remember the

arrest of a Glasgow Hunger Strike Action Committee (GHSAC) supporter at a CND rally in Glasgow last year (FRFI 11). Hundreds of CND supporters gathered to protest at this unjust arrest. The police then arrested a young CND supporter.

As a result of a successful public campaign, the GHSAC supporter had the charges against her dropped. However the Glasgow loyalist police took their revenge and pursued a charge of Breach of the Peace against the CND supporter.

His case came up in Glasgow Sheriff Court on Friday 23 April. Sergeants Kane and Halliday could not even corroborate each other's lies and contradicted each other on all the major points in the trial. The police lies were so blatant that the Sheriff was forced to find the CND supporters not guilty!

Strathclyde Regional Council backs down

Labour controlled Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC) who were operating a policy of political censorship by refusing the hire of their property for meetings on Ireland have now backed down. The Glasgow Irish Freedom

Action Committee (GIFAC) have mounted a public campaign against this censorship and the SRC cover up - see FRFI 18. The campaign (which was supported by many people, including Ron Brown MP, Hugh Brown MP and Councillor Donald Masterton) proves that the struggle against censorship can be won if it is organised.

Barclays bank - racist bank

On 16 April Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! supporters joined in a picket of Barclays bank in the City of London called by the City Branch of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Hundreds of leaflets were given out calling upon Barclays to disinvest from South Africa and the picketers kept up militant chants of 'Barclays bank - Racist bank - Smash apartheid now!' and 'Victory to the ANC!' and 'What do we want? - Sanctions! - When do we want them? - Now!' Many of the bankers were clearly disturbed by the picket, whilst many working class people expressed their sympathy and support.

North London Irish Solidarity Committee

The work of the NLISC over recent weeks has concentrated on building support for the 8 May demonstration with tube and pub leafletting, street meetings and a public meeting on 22 April.

At the successful public meeting an audience of more than 40 people saw the film Ireland's Hunger Strike. Mrs Hill, mother of framed Irish Prisoner of War Paul Hill, spoke and gave a graphic account of life in the occupied Six Counties. She said that the struggle will go on until Ireland is free. She spoke of the unity and solidarity, particularly between Irish POWs and black prisoners, in British prisons. She said that black people and poor people were the natural allies of the Irish people.

The speaker for NLISC, Martin Peters, emphasised this point. This was where NLISC was concentrating its work, he said, in building a solidarity movement with the Irish people. He stated that such solidarity was vital in our own struggle against our common enemy: the British ruling class.

The NLISC also mounted a vigorous protest at a Labour Party meeting addressed by the imperialist Michael Foot. Questioning and speaking from the audience NLISC supporters gave Foot a very rough ride for his support for British imperialism in Ireland. Some members of the public and Labour Party stewards were hostile, but a significant number signed the NLISC petition and expressed support. Contact NLISC at BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX.

May Day Victory!

Mike Duffield was found not guilty of breach of the peace at Glasgow District Court on 27 April.

The full charge was breach of the peace by 'shouting and swearing through a megaphone'. Mike was arrested when police, acting on the advice of Loyalists, pulled down a Glasgow Hunger Strike Action Committee banner on last year's May Day march.

The Sheriff said that it was not a crime to shout 'Victory to the Hunger Strikers'. This victory shows the value of an effective campaign and a properly argued defence case. A comrade from the Labour Party provided a sound back-up to the defence.

STOP PRESS

Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee defended its right to join the May Day March. Police seized their banner saying 'The organisers have banned you'. GIFAC retrieved it and forced the organisers to concede that GIFAC could march. The police withdrew defeated.

EVENTS

8 - 14 MAY

LONDON

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION
Get Britain Out of Ireland!
Self-determination for the Irish People!
Saturday 8 May
Assemble 1.00pm Speakers
Corner Hyde Park for march to
County Hall and rally
Called by 8th May
Demonstration Organising
Committee

DUNDEE

Hunger Strike Commemorative
Street Meeting
Saturday 8 May
City Square 2pm-3pm
Called by Dundee FRFI
Supporters Group

MANCHESTER

PICKET
Bring Sultan Mahmood's
Children Home!
Monday 10 May
Immigration Appeals Court,
Aldine House, New Bailey
Street, 9.00am
Called by Sultan Mahmood
Support Committee

LEEDS

FRFI PUBLIC FORUM
CENTRAL AMERICA
Thursday 13 May
Leeds Trades Club, Saville
Mount, Leeds 7, 7.30pm
Called by Leeds FRFI
Supporters Group

15 - 21 MAY

GLASGOW

March and Rally
Remember the ten murdered
hunger strikers!
Victory to the Irish People!
Saturday 15 May
Assemble 11.30am Royston Hill
Sponsored by: Tyneside Troops
Out Movement, Dundee Irish
Republican Solidarity
Committee, North-West Irish
Solidarity Committee, South
London Irish Solidarity
Committee, North London Irish
Solidarity Committee
Called by Glasgow Irish
Freedom Action Committee

LONDON

STREET MEETING
VICTORY TO THE IRISH
PEOPLE!
TROOPS OUT NOW!
Saturday 15 May
Tooting Broadway Tube 1.45pm
Called by South London Irish
Solidarity Committee

LONDON
DEMONSTRATION
YES TO THE PLO!
YES TO THE RIGHTS OF THE
PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!
Saturday 15 May
Assemble Speakers Corner
Hyde Park 12.30pm for march
to Trafalgar Square
Rally in Trafalgar Square 3pm
Called by London Office
Palestine Liberation
Organisation

DEADLINE FOR FRFI
20 - 25 May

22 - 28 MAY

EDINBURGH

STREET MEETING
Saturday 22 May
The Mound, Princes Street,
12-2pm
Called by Edinburgh FRFI
Supporters Group

LONDON

STREET MEETING
VICTORY TO THE IRISH
PEOPLE!
TROOPS OUT NOW!
Saturday 22 May
Archway Tube 1.45pm
Called by North London Irish
Solidarity Committee

GLASGOW

FRFI PUBLIC FORUM
Thursday 27 May
Room 8, City Halls, Albion
Street, 7.30pm
Called by Glasgow FRFI
Supporters Group

MANCHESTER

FRFI PUBLIC FORUM
IRELAND - DISCUSSION AND
VIDEO
Friday 28 May
Lass O'Gowrie pub, Charles
Street (next to BBC Oxford
Street), 7.30pm
Called by Manchester FRFI
Supporters Group

29 MAY - 4 JUNE

LONDON

STREET MEETING
VICTORY TO THE IRISH
PEOPLE!
TROOPS OUT NOW!
Saturday 29 May
Batham Tube 1.45pm
Called by South London Irish
Solidarity Committee

LIVERPOOL

FRFI PUBLIC FORUM
STATE REPRESSION AND THE
FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIC
RIGHTS
Thursday 3 June
Stanley House, Upper
Parliament Street, 7.30pm
Called by Liverpool FRFI
Supporters Group

LEEDS

Film and Rally
OPPOSE POLICE
HARASSMENT!
Wednesday 2 June
Details from FRFI, Box LAP 10,
59 Cookridge Street, Leeds 2
Called by Leeds FRFI
Supporters Group

BRADFORD

Public Meeting
FIGHT POLICE HARASSMENT!
RESIST REPRESSION!
Speakers and Film: Riots and
Rumours of Riots
Thursday 3 June
Queens Hall, Morley Street,
7.30pm
Admission 50p
Called by Bradford FRFI
Supporters Group

COMING SOON

LONDON
Demonstration
VICTORY TO THE IRISH
PEOPLE!
TROOPS OUT NOW!
Saturday 17 July
Assemble Tooting Broadway
Tube 1.30pm for march to
Clapham Common and rally
Called by South London Irish
Solidarity Committee

CITY BRANCH (LONDON)
ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT
SOCIAL
Saturday June 19 8-12pm
Metropolitan pub, Corner of
Farringdon and Clerkenwell Road
EC1
Curry, Bar.
Tickets £2.50 (unwaged £1.50)
JUMBLE SALE
We need your jumble, bric a brac,
books. If you can contribute
phone Linda 405 4498 (3-11pm
Mon-Fri)
We will arrange collection

SUPPORT COMMITTEES

Glasgow Irish Freedom Action
Committee
Meets weekly to organise work in
Glasgow in support of the
struggle for Irish liberation.
For details write to:
GIFAC, c/o Box 15,
First of May Bookshop,
43 Candlemaker Row,
Edinburgh

FREE THE BRADFORD 12
NATIONAL PICKET
Every Wednesday at Leeds
Crown Court 10.00am
Transport available from London
Wednesday 14 May
Women's Picket Day
VIDEO
for sale £10 plus p.p.
Or hire £5 plus p.p.
Campaign T-shirts £3
Badges 20p
Stickers 5p
Cheques and POs to Bradford 12
Defence Fund, Box JK, LAP 55
Cookridge Street, Leeds 2

North London Irish Solidarity
Committee
Camden Labour Club,
Carol Street, NW1
(nearest tube Camden Town)
Thursday 13 May 7.30pm
Friday 28 May 7.30pm

South London Irish Solidarity
Committee
Lambeth Town Hall
(nearest tube Brixton)
Thursday 20 May 7.30pm
Thursday 3 June 7.30pm

FRFI SUPPORTER GROUPS

■ **S LONDON** Meets fortnightly on
Tuesdays at 7.30pm. Next meeting 11 & 25
May, 8 June at Jeffreys Library, Jeffreys
Road, SW4
■ **N LONDON** Meets fortnightly on
Tuesdays. Next meetings 18 May and 1
June at Camden Labour Club, Carol Street,
NW1
■ **EDINBURGH** Meets fortnightly on
Sundays. Next meetings 9 & 23 May at First
of May Bookshop, Candlemaker Row,
Edinburgh.
■ **DUNDEE** Details of meetings from local
FRFI sellers or write to FRFI, Box 40, First
of May Bookshop, Candlemaker Row,
Edinburgh.
■ **ABERDEEN** Details of activities from
FRFI c/o Boomtown Books, King Street,
Aberdeen.
■ **MANCHESTER** Details from local FRFI
sellers
■ **LEEDS** Meets fortnightly on Tuesdays at
7.30pm. Next meetings 11 & 25 May at
Leeds Trades Club, Saville Mount, Leeds 7.
■ **BRADFORD** Details from local FRFI
sellers.
■ **LIVERPOOL** Details from local FRFI
sellers.
■ **BRISTOL** Details from local FRFI sellers.
■ **FALKIRK/GRANGEMOUTH** Meets on last
Monday of every month. Next meeting 21
May 7.30pm. Details from local FRFI sellers
or from Box 40, First of May Bookshop,
Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh.
■ **BIRMINGHAM** Details from local FRFI
sellers.
■ **GLASGOW** Details from local FRFI
sellers.

Letters

May Day greeting

The Irish Republican POWs in Hull prison wish to take the opportunity on international workers day, May 1st of sending greetings to the English, Scottish, and Welsh working class and its revolutionary organisations.

We would like to send warmest thanks to the individuals and groups who have practiced true international solidarity with the developing Irish Revolution, in the face of

massive media-inspired hysteria and the intimidation by the state forces and anti-democratic laws.

We would like to ask the workers, youth and national minorities not only to support the struggle for socialism and national independence in Ireland but to deepen the struggle for socialism at home.

While Ireland may be the grave-digger of British imperialism, it is the English, Welsh, and Scottish working class who will put it in the grave.

PRO Irish Republican Prisoners
Hull Prison

Thanks

Dear Comrades

We want to thank you for the money collected for SACTU during the meeting organised by Fight Racism for Victory to the ANC.

I can only say that it was a warm meeting and hope my contribution will go a long way to educate those young people who attended it.

I sincerely hope that from time to time we will get this sort of donation as our struggling people need it for advancing our cause and for peace in the world.

Zola Zembe
Treasurer General SACTU

Great paper

Dear comrades,
I read the FRFI with great interest. I do not know what I would do without reading your excellent paper. I wish to make a donation of £1 for your fighting fund. I hereby enclose a PO for £1. Being unemployed I find it is such a great comfort to read your great paper. It certainly discloses the truth about the Tory-ridden country and the world and Irish question also the Police force in this country.

AK
Kent



Please note our address is:
FRFI,
BCM Box 5909,
London WC1N 3XX
SEND US YOUR LETTERS
We welcome letters from readers. Please keep them as short as you can

Central America

Dear comrades,

Having followed the articles in your publication on El Salvador and Central America, I want to express my gratitude and congratulate you for the prominence and space you give to coverage of news in that region.

Coming from Central America myself it is encouraging to see that your publication is also helping in our struggle to live like human beings, to enjoy democracy and independence.

The war of liberation in El Salvador and Central America is directed against the ruling oligarchies, their military gendarmes and American intervention in our internal affairs.

The 'moderately autocratic' regimes which have come to power or are kept there thanks to the government of the United States of America. The wealthy have prospered at the cost of thousands of lives by use of a corrupt and ruthless army.

Even so it seems to have come as a surprise to the White House that the people of Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and other Latin American nations are capable of rebelling against oppression. They forget that in 1933 Sandino's forces drove out an occupation of Nicaragua by US marines after six years of struggle, and that in the previous year, 1932, Farabundo Martí led, among others, a peasant insurrection that was brutally repressed, leaving over 30,000 people dead after a period of 2 weeks.

Washington did not learn much in Viet Nam and seems ready to sacrifice the lives of United States citizens and Latin Americans to preserve the privileges and control its government and American companies have in our countries.

The truth about our countries is very different from what they

portray. To justify their actions they label most people Marxists and agents of Cuba and the Soviet Union. The reality is different, our Christians learnt their bible in the poverty of the shanty towns, our communists were taught Marxism by oppression and persecution, our students learnt the meaning of 'excesses of democracy' through repression. Washington officials learnt the meaning of subversion behind the desks of their air-conditioned offices.

Cuba has sent hundreds of military advisors to Nicaragua after the intentions of the Reagan administration and CIA became clear because they know that when America speaks about intervention they really mean it (Bay of Pigs). These advisors have been requested by a government which is truly representative of its nation, the Sandinista Government, not by an unpopular and repressive government like the ruling junta of El Salvador. By the time the Cuban military personnel arrived in Nicaragua there were already over 2,000 Cuban teachers and over 100 physicians helping to rebuild the country.

The United States, on the other hand, refuses to comply with the assistance it pledged to give Nicaragua, assistance that it morally owes to that country for having put and kept in power the Somoza dictatorship for 40 years.

... Fortunately, the liberation war in Central America is an irreversible process. The FDR-FMLN can advance because they have the support of the people; because they are the people. Politically and militarily they have the initiative and they have shown how effective they are.

Their power however does not come from their weapons but from the justness of their ideals. Ayer Nicaragua, Hoy El Salvador, Manana Guatemala.

VL
Manchester

NCP - sham communists

Dear Comrades,
As an ex-NCP member, I always read with interest whatever FRFI has to say about that organisation, and I think that you are perfectly correct in your condemnation of these sham 'communists' for their refusal to work with other left-wing groups on the question of Ireland and Poland. When Eric Trevett, Gen. Sec. of the NCP mouths off about building 'broad alliances', this means no more than supporting CND demonstrations (and trying to sell the boring, dull 'Young Worker' instead of having to give it away in desperation) plus inviting pacifists from the Labour Party onto their platform. You will hear nothing from the NCP about the young black and white workers, who are still being victimised in the aftermath of the urban uprisings last year, for the official NCP policy is that they were just a bunch of youngsters 'having a go' at the cops, with nothing constructive coming out of it. It is now clear to me, after wasting two years in that diversionary, joke-party, that they are no more than a political section of the British-Soviet Friendship Society full-stop!

The theme of their recent meetings on Poland was that we should support the military government in the interests of world peace, so as not to upset the strategic balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Nothing at all was said about defending the military government in the interests of socialism!

I would like to answer the letter from a comrade in South London who referred to an article

on Ireland that I wrote when still in the NCP (see FRFI16). The lesson that I learned by joining the TOM delegation to the Six Counties was that the left in Britain have miserably failed in their internationalist duty to the people of Ireland if the only support they can offer is an annual visit by a handful of trendy lefties, whilst no committed solidarity movement is being built on the mainland. I wrote a factual report of my visit and the reason why I did not mention the role that the NCP has to play is that I know that they have not any intention of ever working on the issue, because Ireland is too near home.

Lastly, I would like to assure comrade McG, who wrote the letter, I referred to earlier, that I am fully behind the IRA/INLA, both in the Six Counties and here on the mainland, and I hope to do useful solidarity work in the future.

Death to Opportunism!
Victory to the Irish People!

GR

East London

CP bankruptcy

Dear FRFI,

A recent CPGB run meeting in London I attended which was addressed by Donald Robotham of the Communist Workers Party of Jamaica proved both extremely informative about imperialism in the Caribbean and the disgusting degeneracy into which the CPGB has fallen.

First of all the CPGB member chairing the meeting had to be removed because he was drunk! What racist contempt for Comrade Robotham and the many black people in the audience! Then, during question time, when I sought information on the role of British multinationals and forces in the region because Britain was still a major imperialist power there were titters of laughter. This from a CP that denies the nature of British imperialism, denies the existence of a labour aristocracy that is allied with British imperialism through the Labour Party, and which prefers to join it in bleating about EEC/USA etc 'infringements on the country's sovereignty'. Finally a CP member tried to prevent me from seeking Comrade Robotham's support for a South London Irish Solidarity Committee petition calling for self-determination for Ireland and troops out now. Such crass sectarianism was supposedly in defence of CPGB support for British troops in Ireland and its slander of the IRA.

No wonder when a black person in the audience condemned the record of the CPGB on black people in Britain there were shouts of approval. This misnamed Communist Party is basically extolling the virtues of 'community policing'. All of a piece with its ever more apparent racist, imperialist character.

TR

London

Dundee 'saga'

Dear FRFI,
I read with interest the Dundee Trades Council 'saga' in FRFI 16 and 18. Such behaviour from the Labour movement comes as no surprise to me - especially when Ireland is discussed. As those of us who are engaged in Irish solidarity are aware, it brings us into direct confrontation with British 'democracy'. This leads to harassment, intimidation and, as in Dundee's case, arrests and disruption of public events. I strongly suspect that it is for this reason that the Labour Movement shies away from any serious activity on Ireland.

As a former delegate on the Battersea and Wandsworth

Trades Council (London) which has a large Irish community, I experienced such sectarianism and racism as your supporters in Dundee did. On 29 July 1981 a national demonstration was called in support of the hunger strikers in Long Kesh, Britain's concentration camp. I proposed that the Trades Council support it. I appealed for support even on purely humane grounds. They refused on the grounds that FRFI was supporting it! Five Irish men were murdered at that time and these people were still sitting on their fat backsides talking about the working class, doing nothing about the murders in Long Kesh, or their murderers - Foot and Thatcher.

As an Irishman I felt disgusted and still do by this blatant chauvinism. My experiences in raising Ireland at my union branch, district shop stewards meetings and Trades Councils have convinced me that the Labour Movement is riddled with national chauvinism.

Since the hunger strike ended the Irish sub-committee has been disbanded! I suppose that children murdered by rubber and plastic bullets, people shot dead and others tortured and savagely beaten by the British army is of little or no consequence for these people. Now that the pressure of the hunger strike is over they can, as they are doing in Wandsworth, get down to the 'real business' of urging everything to vote Labour at the local elections.

As the H-Block poem says 'I was wronged and you stood idly by'. Let justice rid us once and for all of these parasitic scum.

CMcG
London

PTA and Trade Unions

Dear Comrades

At a conference in London in mid-February called to mobilise opposition to the Prevention of Terrorism Act, a speaker from the platform advised the audience to join a Trades Union if they wished to be protected from the PTA.

Do follow the logic of that advice.

The Labour Party brought in the PTA. We are advised to join a Trades Union (which means give them our money and support) to protect ourselves from the PTA. The Trades Union fund the Labour Party. The Labour Party brought in the PTA!

NG London

BECOME A FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM! SUPPORTER

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DISCUSSION

Class struggle

Dear Comrades,
I am very glad that FRFI supports the workers states, they are the living proof of socialism, as the only solution to capitalism's crisis. I am also glad that FRFI welcomes debate in its paper, in front of the working class. I would like to add to what CM from Leeds writes in issue No 17.

Is the RCG aware that capitalism is in its most massive crisis ever? Is it aware that the working class in Britain brought down the last two governments, and is at the moment winning decisive victories in the struggle to bring down this government? The steelworkers, miners, water workers, gas workers, train drivers and many other sections have all shown the working class is a million miles from being defeated. It is the ruling class and the bourgeoisie that is being defeated, as they are incapable of coming up with one single solution to capitalism's crisis, and imperialism is routed by socialist revolutions throughout the world.

While totally supporting the struggle against British imperialism in Northern Ireland and the struggle against capitalism's racist policies, these struggles cannot be separated from the international class struggle, which includes the British working class. To quote Lenin;

'There is one and only one kind of internationalism, and that is working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and

the revolutionary struggle in ONES OWN country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) THIS STRUGGLE and ONLY THIS line in EVERY country without exception' (Collected Works, Vol 24, p 74. Emphasis his.)

To ignore or push to the side the class struggle in Britain and to fail to analyse the capitalist crisis is to ignore the way in which revolutionary movements have, and are being built throughout the world. To quote Lenin again; 'without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement'.

Until the RCG does this it is nothing but a protest group, not a revolutionary communist group dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the only way the working class is going to defeat racism and imperialism. I hope you will publish this as a contribution to this struggle.

A Workers Party member

'We must build anew'

Dear Comrades,
I hope that the important editorial statement of the RCG in FRFI 18 - 'We Must Build Anew' initiates a debate amongst serious elements of the revolutionary left.

The article sharply poses the central question for Communists in Britain today: who are the real forces of revolution? It is indeed clear that the 'traditional' Labour Party and TU orientation of the radical left groups is bankrupt and has achieved nothing. How could it when these very organisations are inseparably

tied to imperialism? John Miller, a national officer of the TGWU, for example, describes the TUC's international policy as 'all Foreign Office and CIA' (In the useful book 'Where Were You Brother?: an account of Trade Union imperialism', D Thomson and R Larson, War on Want, 1978).

In Britain we see that the TUs are incapable of even preventing the removal of Earnings Related Unemployment Benefit from those who they have not prevented from being thrown on the dole in the first place! If the TUs cannot even defend their own interests it is surely madness to think that they can take up progressive positions on major political issues such as racism, Ireland and democratic rights in general. Amazingly the only organisation to realise this appears to be the Revolutionary Communist Group.

The responsibilities lying on the RCG, their supporters and sympathisers are then immense. In breaking with the LP and TU fetishism - and the orientation to parliamentary 'democracy' which this inevitably entails - the RCG will certainly encounter the utmost resistance and hostility from imperialism and its agents in the working class. This will not be a bad thing but a good thing!

In this letter I am only able to skim over some vital points but it is obvious that the immensely difficult task of 'building anew' requires substantial debate and action which FRFI can facilitate. There is some urgency about this task, indeed in many parts of the globe it is literally a matter of life and death!

EH
Nottingham

HANDS OFF IRELAND

FASCIST UPSURGE AGAINST POPE'S VISIT



The occasion of the Pope's visit has seen a major upsurge of loyalist thuggery. In Scotland churches have been vandalised and priests assaulted in open bigotry, while in Liverpool loyalists violently disrupted a church service. Plans to disrupt the Pope's visit include Paisley-led counter-demonstrations and blocking of proposed routes. Since the announcement of the visit, loyalist and Orange Order demonstrations have been numerous; over the last six months, in Scotland certainly, there have been more marches and displays of Loyalism than CND events as these undoubted fascists use the excuse of the Pope's visit to organise their forces and test the limits to which they are allowed to go by the police and Tories. These limits have been virtually boundless. In Glasgow on Saturday 27 March, Scottish loyalists waving Union Jacks and Red Hand of Ulster flags smashed up a Scottish Republican Socialist demonstration while the police looked on. Any Irish demonstration or meeting in Scotland has always had to run their gauntlet and during the hunger strike last year marches were violently attacked in Liverpool and Manchester in full view of approving police forces.

Loyalism was created in Ireland by British imperialism to defend British imperialist rule there. It is a fascist pro-imperialist force sustained through privilege based on sectarian discrimination. It is anti-democratic, anti-working class reaction in its most extreme form. In Ireland savage loyalist death squads attack, mutilate, torture and murder nationalists with impunity. The death squads have included serving members of the 'security' forces and have received arms, training and information from these same 'security' forces. The reason for the British state's toleration of, and support for, this murderous activity is simple: loyalist fascist terror is the 'unofficial' counterpart of the 'official' terror of the army and RUC directed against the revolutionary democratic anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed. In Scotland, and parts of England, loyalist mobs play the same role in attacking progressive anti-imperialist demonstrations at will. Behind the loyalist mobs stands British imperialism seeking to root out and destroy any opposition to its rule. Loyalism is British fascism.

The Pope's visit has given these fascist thugs an opportunity to organise openly and coordinate their forces. Committees and coalitions have emerged and a hate-filled campaign of leaflets, stickers etc is in full swing. The campaign is directed against Catholics in general with references to 'overbreeding' and attacks on Catholic schooling. Behind it all stands the defence of privileges which exist for all those loyal to British imperialism — in Scotland, Catholics are discriminated against in employment with the religious denomination of your school being the decisive factor in many work-places and yards. One of the leaders of the Scottish Loyalists gave as his reason for their proposed street thuggery and violence the complaint that they would 'lose [their] identity and freedom if Protestants and Catholics sit together in the same Church...'. In the same statement he warned 'there are going to be lots of serious injuries'. If he was black or supported Irish freedom he would now be in gaol for saying that, but the police and courts always repay loyalty to imperialism.

PRIORS PLAN-COVER FOR REPRESSION

At the beginning of April Jim Prior unveiled the latest British plan to restore devolved government to the Six Counties. This is the third such 'initiative' to be launched by the British government since 1974. In 1973 the British government implemented a plan involving 'power-sharing' between loyalists and the SDLP (representing middle-class Catholics) and the promise of a 'Council of Ireland' to develop closer links between the Six and Twenty Six counties. These concessions to middle-class Catholics, however, were too much for the Loyalists and the scheme was destroyed (with little resistance from the British government) by the loyalist strike in 1974. Subsequent British 'initiatives' — the 'Constitutional Convention' in 1975 and the 'Constitutional Conference' in 1980 — dropped any mention of power-sharing or a Council of Ireland. It became clear that the British government had now resolved to restore loyalist-dominated government with just sufficient 'participation' by middle-class Catholic politicians to give the appearance to foreign observers that the system of government had been reformed.

outside world as a 'reformed' system enjoying 'cross-community' support.

The so-called 'Irish dimension' which had been represented in the 1973 plan by the proposal to set up a 'Council of Ireland' is likewise non-existent in the latest scheme. In place of a Council of Ireland the Prior plan refers to the recently established 'Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council', in which the British and Free State governments simply discuss matters of mutual interest (notably their joint efforts to defeat the IRA). The White Paper does make reference to the possibility of an Anglo-Irish institution at Parliamentary level, but it makes it quite clear that politicians from the Six Counties (most of whom, of course, would be Loyalists) would not have to participate in such a body if they did not wish to do so. The White Paper also makes it clear that any agreements between the future Six Counties and Twenty Six Counties governments would relate solely to areas such as economic co-operation, not constitutional questions, and again the conclusion of such agreements would be entirely at the discretion of the (loyalist-dominated) Six Counties government. The plan therefore makes no provision at all for any kind of all-Ireland institution to be set up, not even the kind of nebulous and powerless institution represented by the Council of Ireland which was proposed in 1973.

Nevertheless, loyalists have already expressed their opposition to Prior's plan since it does not represent an immediate return to loyalist rule — they do not share the British government's concern to disguise the return of loyalist rule behind a facade of 'reform'. Even if the plan does not progress very far, however, it will still have served an important purpose, that is to show the world that the British government is 'doing something' about the Six Counties. Whether or not it ultimately succeeds, therefore, Prior's plan — like previous British government 'initiatives' — will serve as a useful cover in the meantime for the continuing efforts by the British and loyalist forces to batter the nationalist working class into submission.

Irish Correspondent

The plan introduced by Jim Prior is the latest attempt by the British government to achieve this aim. Power-sharing does not exist at all in this scheme. According to the White Paper a 70% majority of the new Assembly in the Six Counties (which will, of course, be dominated by Loyalists) will be able to submit to the Secretary of State any plan for the exercise of devolved government in the Six Counties. The plan must then be debated in Parliament. If the Secretary of State believes that the plan is 'acceptable to both sides of the community in Northern Ireland' (ie he believes that the new government would appear sufficiently 'reformed') he could then begin the process of restoring devolved government to the Six Counties in accordance with the plan. However, even if the majority supporting a particular plan were to be less than 70% the Secretary of State could still implement the plan if he so wished — ie if he thought he could get away with portraying it to the

fascist thuggery in active defence of privilege and British imperialism. It is wholly anti-working class and pro-imperialist. In Britain, the Orange Order and loyalism have been the refuge of the most racist and anti-democratic elements and the most violently opposed to any show of support for Irish freedom. Yet British middle class socialists have refused to acknowledge this.

At the very time that Loyalism is whipping up its sectarian reactionary campaign on the Pope's visit, *Socialist Worker* prints four pages on the 'plight' of loyalist workers including interviews in which these loyalist reactionaries demand the restoration of Stormont, threaten a bloodbath and demand the suppression of the IRA (SW 10 April 1982). Printing this racist reactionary filth from Loyalists is no different from running 'interviews' with the National Front. In Edinburgh they have conducted radio debates with members of the Edinburgh Loyalist Coalition, who had previously been to the fore in attacking pro-hunger strike meetings. The Communist Party too, with its extensive links with Orange and loyalist trade union leaders, refuses to acknowledge that Loyalism is British fascism.

The majority of the British 'anti-fascist' socialists were able to throw

their energies into the Anti-Nazi League because the National Front and the British Movement could be portrayed as based on 'German' nazism, jack-booted and brown shirted — that is un-British. With the Loyalists it is a different story; their very reason for existence is the defence of *Britain* and *British* imperialism. To oppose the loyalists it is necessary to oppose British imperialism directly. This the British middle class socialists cannot and will not do.

When synagogues and shops were attacked in Germany in the twenties, the German opportunist socialists continued to seek debate and 'unity' with the German 'loyalists'. Today's British opportunists print interviews with loyalist fascists, worry about the 'plight' of these fascists and denounce the revolutionary Republican struggle against the very basis of the loyalists' existence: British imperialism.

Communists and progressives, in contrast, oppose every manifestation of loyalist fascism and support the revolutionary democratic anti-imperialist struggle of the Republican movement against British imperialism.

**No to loyalist reaction!
Victory to the Irish people!**

Gary Cameron



EASTER COMMEMORATION

In a statement on the occasion of the 1916 Easter Rising commemoration, the IRA concluded: 'Only through armed struggle will we be listened to, only through the struggle waged by the men and women of the IRA can we win national freedom and end division and sectarianism in Ireland... We are confident that the IRA stands ready and able, as the IRA did in 1916, to press throughout the countryside and the city streets the political war against the British occupation forces and the RUC and UDR. Republicans remain determined, as always, to secure conditions in which all the people of this country will unite in a thirty-two county democratic republic. Nothing else will suffice. Nothing else will be accepted.'

Throughout this campaign the press and television have either given the loyalists a tolerant and sympathetic hearing or treated them as bizarre 'fanatics' thus covering up for the murderous reality of loyalist reaction and the fact that it is the creation of the British imperialist system which the press and television exist to defend. The *Guardian* referred to the rabid anti-Catholic campaign of Jack Glass in the Glasgow Hillhead bye-election as 'the chaps with the drums and flutes'. The *Scotsman* interviewed Glass and referred to him as mild-mannered and pleasant in the middle of his 'Protestant Crusade against the Papal Visit' election campaign. Glass's campaign paid particular attention to the successful pro-hunger strike march through the centre of Glasgow last February — a march which they could not stop and this has stuck in their red, white and blue throats ever since. Outside of the Hillhead bye-election and the Regional elections, the loyalists have had the Rev Ian Paisley in Glasgow ranting and raving against Irish republicans;

in March in Oxford and Barnsley, Paisley was in full bigoted voice condemning Catholics, communism and the IRA. Throughout Scotland thousands have marched in open displays of reaction and pro-imperialism.

Threats have been daily issued, with Paisley's para-military Third Force promised for Liverpool, and Glasgow city centre to be 'brought to a complete standstill.' At the same time socialist meetings, not only on Ireland, have come under attack and anti-imperialists have been singled out for assault and beatings. The media has had next to nothing to say about these reactionary campaigns and attacks. All the while when there are Irish men and women rotting in British gaols for 'conspiracy', these goons get away with open threats of violence and mayhem and the disruption of democratic rights. All because they do it in the name of British imperialism and Ulster.

For anti-imperialists and republicans there is no doubt about the nature of Loyalism and Orangeism: it represents